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U.S. CAPITALISM AT AN IMPASSE

THE EDITORS

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ON CUBA

J. P. MORRAY

REFLECTIONS ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

H. H. WILSON

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RALPH MILIBAND

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

As we go to press with this issue, the demand continues for additional copies of our summer double number on "Monopoly Capital"; not only have readers responded enthusiastically, but our newsstand distributor has reordered, and many foreign publishers are asking for rights to the Baran-Sweezy book of which the summer number was a small part. Further details on the publication of the book will come later.

Right now MR Press is busy bringing out the American edition of three books already published in England. The first, to be published here on November 5, is *The Pen & the Sword,* by Michael Foot. In this exciting story, Jonathan Swift, "the prince of journalists," is matched against the Duke of Marlborough, the greatest of English soldiers. The pen and the sword fight a duel. Michael Foot, the author of the book, was a close friend of Aneurin Bevan and in November 1960 was elected Member of Parliament for Ebbw Vale, the constituency which Bevan represented until his death. Foot is also Managing Director of *Tribune,* the Left weekly which Bevan started in 1937. His book is of especial interest to those familiar with English history; if you aren't, this book is probably not for you.

But *View From The West* by Claud Cockburn is for you—if you go for a reporter who has a capacity for being on the spot when things get hot and can reflect on his experiences in prose that is witty and delightful. This is the third volume of the famous autobiography of which *Crossing The Line,* also published by MR Press, was the second. The list price for *View From The West* is $3.75, but until publication date, November 14, you can buy it for $2.25; and until November 14, you can buy both

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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U. S. CAPITALISM AT AN IMPASSE

As of mid-August, almost all the indicators used by economists to forecast near-term future developments are pointing down. It is therefore a good bet that, barring a miracle (or a great war scare), we shall be in the first phase of the fifth postwar recession by the time this is in print, or soon thereafter. Assuming that August turns out to be the peak month of the upswing which began in the winter of 1961, we can construct the following table showing the pattern of the last four complete cycles, measured from peak to peak:

			Duration in Months		
Peak	Through	Peak	Contraction	Expansion	Full Cycle
Nov., 1948	Oct., 1949	Apr., 1953	11	42	53
Apr., 1953	May, 1954	Aug., 1957	13	39	52
Aug., 1957	Apr., 1958	Apr., 1960	8	24	32
Apr., 1960	Feb., 1961	Aug., 1962	10	18	28

The most striking thing about this table is the sharp and steady decline in the length of the expansions—from 42 months in 1949-1953 to a mere 18 months in 1961-1962.

But this is not all. Not only are the expansions becoming shorter, but they fail by a progressively widening margin to generate a full utilization of the economy's available manpower and productive facilities. Here is the record of unemployment, as underestimated by official figures, in the years in which the peaks were reached:

	Percent of Civilian Labor Force
1948	3.8
1953	2.9
1957	4.3
1960	5.6
1962	5.6

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The 1962 figure here relates to the average of the seasonally adjusted monthly figures for the first half of the year. When it is taken into account that these were all months of upswing, while 1960 consisted of only four months of upswing and eight of recession, it will be seen that the peak level of unemployment has actually moved substantially upward.

The record of capacity utilization is much the same. Probably the most reliable data on industrial capacity now in wide use are those collected by a questionnaire technique by the McGraw-Hill Economics Department. An index of capacity utilization can be constructed by dividing the McGraw-Hill capacity index (1950 = 100) into the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production shifted over to the same base year. The results for the last three peak years are as follows:*

1953	98
1957	85
1960	81

Capacity data for 1962 are not yet available; but 1961, predominantly a year of recovery, showed only 80 percent utilization, and if the remainder of this year is recession, as we expect, there is certainly no reason to anticipate a better showing for 1962.

* These figures suggest that in 1953, the last year of the Korean War boom, capacity was almost completely utilized. If capitalist standards of judgment are used, as they obviously are in the McGraw-Hill estimates, this makes perfectly good sense. However, this should not be misunderstood to mean that the output of the U. S. economy had reached its physical limits in 1953. Cf. the article "Idle Machines," by An Economic Observer, in the June issue of MR where it is estimated that if peak production in World War II be taken as the norm, the capacity utilization rate in 1953 was a mere 61 percent. From our present point of view, the issue is not important since we are interested only in *comparing* utilization rates in recent peak years. On this whole subject, the interested reader is referred to the Hearings on *Measures of Productive Capacity* just published by the Joint Economic Committee (87th Cong., 2nd Sess. Pursuant to Sec. 5(a) of P.L. 304, 79th Cong. May 14, 22, 23, and 24, 1962), obtainable from the Government Printing Office for 45¢. The McGraw-Hill capacity index will be found in these Hearings, p. 11.

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Against this background, the only mystery about the severe stock market break of last spring is why it didn't come sooner. And this mystery, it seems to us, can be cleared up only if we attempt to view the whole matter in some sort of historical perspective.

The attitudes of businessmen and investors (and no doubt of consumers as well) are, of course, determined by objective economic conditions. But the relationship is not a simple one. In particular, there is likely to be a considerable time lag between a change in economic conditions and the corresponding change in attitudes. As a result, there can be relatively long periods during which attitudes are, so to speak, inappropriate to prevailing conditions; harmony will be re-established only if and when conditions remain basically unchanged for several years running. Thus the "new era" psychology of the 1920's did not immediately die with the boom in 1929; President Hoover's reiterated assurances that "prosperity is just around the corner" reflected a widespread inability or refusal to understand that prosperity was in fact a thing of the past. After several years of stagnation, however, attitudes became thoroughly adjusted, and by the end of the 1930's a profound pessimism had taken hold of the U. S. business world. This pessimism survived the war and carried over almost undiminished into the postwar period. This explains the otherwise seemingly illogical behavior of the stock market in the "reconversion" boom of the 40's. This was a period of very real inflation, wholesale prices rising by more than 50 percent between 1945 and 1948 and the share of corporate profits in Gross National Product jumping from 8.9 to 13.1 percent. And yet stock prices hardly moved at all in these booming years. When the long-expected recession finally came in 1949 and proved to be both brief and mild, attitudes began to change markedly. With the Korean War boom, the transformation was completed. The tenacious pessimism of the 1930's was replaced by the equally tenacious optimism of the 1950's, the latter, like the former, stubbornly outliving the conditions which gave rise to it. This is the only possible way to account for the astonishing fact that between 1949 and 1960 *stock prices rose more than ten times as fast as whole-*

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*sale prices.**

By early this year, the facts were finally beginning to dim the rosy vision which U. S. investors had conceived of the future back in the "good old days" of postwar and Korean War booms. These facts, it should be emphasized, encompass not only unemployment and unused capacity—neither of which, taken by itself or in combination with the other, is particularly disturbing to the capitalist—but also profits, the most sensitive nerve end of the capitalist economy. The chart on the next page is an eloquent summary of and commentary on much recent U. S. economic history.

The upper line on the chart shows an index of capacity utilization constructed, as indicated above, by dividing the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production by the McGraw-Hill index of industrial capacity. The lower line shows an index of corporate profits (after inventory valuation adjustment) as a percentage of GNP. The choice of 1950 as the base year is essentially arbitrary but serves well to bring out the relative changes in the two indexes during the 1950's. Note that the two indexes move in close harmony, regularly rising and falling together. The average year-to-year change in the profits index, however, is almost twice that in the capacity utilization index (8 percent as against 4.6 percent). Note also that in the recovery year 1961 both capacity utilization and profits as a share of GNP actually declined.

Here we have what may be called the anatomy of the "profits squeeze" about which businessmen and their trained economists have been so bitterly complaining. The squeeze is real enough all right, but this chart reveals how silly it is to blame it on high wages or naughty government policies as the scribes and pundits never tire of doing.** The cause of the steady decline in profits as a share of GNP is obviously what we long ago labeled "Creeping Stagnation" (the title of the Review of

* With 1947-49 = 100, the wholesale price index went up from 99 in 1949 to 119 in 1960, while the corresponding rise in Standard and Poor's index of 500 common stocks was from 100 to 365.

** For a typical example, equally notable for its arrogance and its superficiality, see Gilbert Burck, "U. S. Business in Supense," *Fortune*, August 1962.

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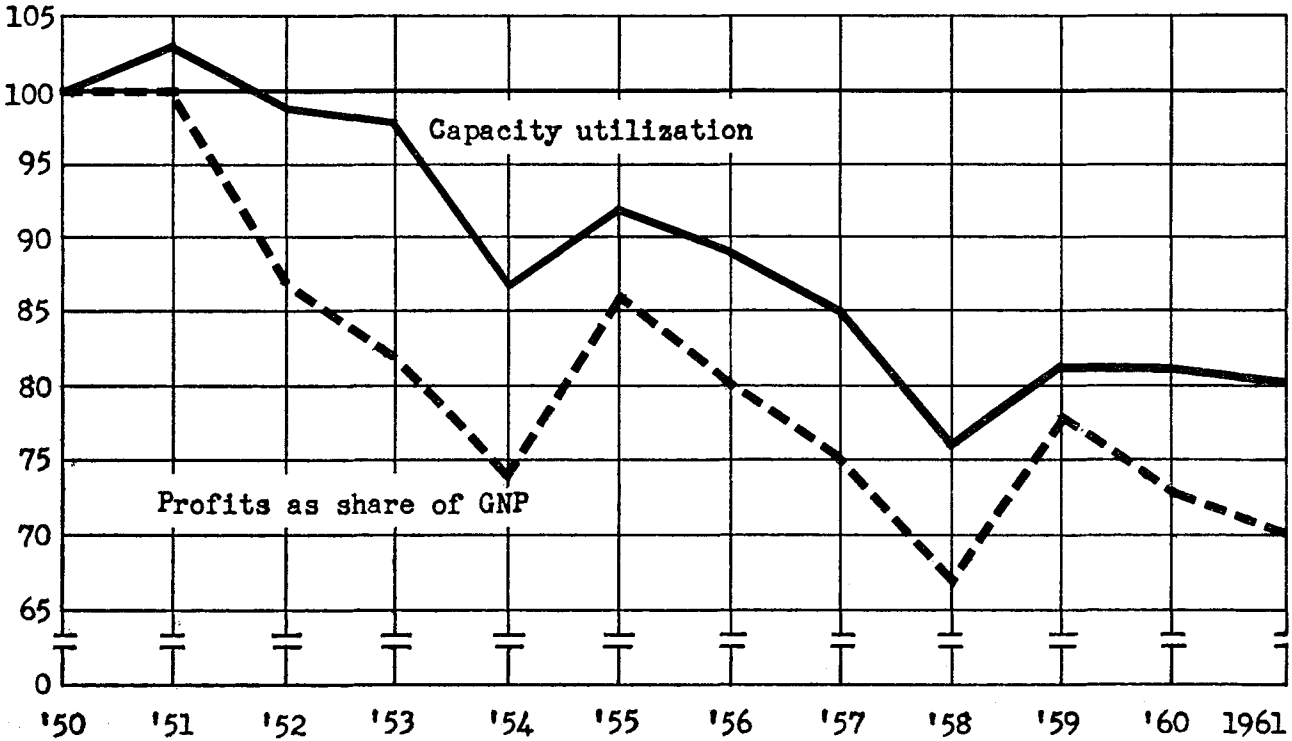
CAPACITY UTILIZATION RATE AND PROFITS AS SHARE OF GNP (1950 = 100)



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the Month in the June, 1958, issue of MR).* And the cause of creeping stagnation, strange as it may sound, is—too high profits!

This is not the place to attempt a full explanation of this apparent paradox, but the main point can be briefly indicated. As the chart shows, profits fluctuate violently as the economy moves up and down (this is of course even more true of the absolute amount of profits than it is of the share of profits). Now, if any given level of output is to be maintained, it is essential that all profits realized at that level must be promptly returned to the market in the form of demand for goods and services. Otherwise, total demand will decline, output will fall, and profits will shrink. This process will continue until a level of output has been reached at which all profits *are* being returned to the market. What has to be emphasized is that at anything approaching full-capacity operation, the U. S. economy today throws off a huge volume of profits. It may be conservatively estimated, for example, that at the present time full-capacity GNP would be 15 percent higher than it actually is, i.e. $635 billion. If the profits share were the same as in 1950 (12.5 percent), this would yield a profits total of approximately $90 billion, almost double the 1961 figure of $45.6 billion! After subtraction of taxes and dividends, this would leave corporations with a veritable flood of cash to dispose of, vastly more than available investment outlets could conceivably absorb. It follows that full-capacity operation, if it could by some miracle be achieved, would collapse overnight, and the ensuing decline would continue until profits had fallen to the point

* The *idea* was, of course, put forward long before that in these pages. Writing in December, 1949, on the economic outlook for the 1950's, we summed up as follows: "Putting everything together, *and assuming no drastic changes in the level of the cold war,* the economic prospect is that American capitalism will go from good to bad, and from bad to worse—not suddenly or dramatically but gradually and surely. Economists and historians of the future may well speak of the great depression of the fifties without ever being able to decide when it began." (Italics added.) The cold war, of course, was drastically stepped up only six months later, but this served merely to postpone the inevitable for a few years more. We quote this 13-year-old forecast not in order to be able to say "I told you so," but simply to emphasize what is all too often forgotten, even on the Left, namely, the importance of good theory to the understanding of reality.

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where available investment outlets could absorb them. But that's just where we are today—with the economy running at about 80 percent of capacity and profits at around 9 percent of GNP.

What we mean when we say that the cause of stagnation is too high profits should now be clear. It is not the *actual* amount of profits that is in question but rather the amounts that *would be* realized at higher rates of capacity utilization. Since these greater amounts cannot be absorbed by available investment outlets, the level of capacity utilization remains low: the economy stagnates. And every change that raises profits—price hikes, automation of productive processes, etc.—simply lowers the sustainable level of capacity utilization. Conversely, anything that would reduce profits—e.g. a general reduction of monopoly prices—would raise the sustainable level of capacity utilization. From this we may conclude that by far the most rational full-employment policy would be comprehensive price controls designed to increase consumers' real incomes and reduce the profitability of Big Business. Is it necessary to add that Big Business domination of all aspects of American life is today so complete that not a single politician in either the Democratic or Republican Party would dare to make such a proposal?

Let us now return to our main theme, the economic outlook. Can we expect a recession on the familiar postwar pattern, lasting a year or less and giving way to another short and feeble upswing? Or does the shift in business attitudes discussed above and signalized by the stock market break, mean that something worse is in store?

On the whole, we incline to the latter view. For one thing, the direct effects of the stock market break are likely to be considerable. As the First National City Bank says in its *Monthly Economic Letter* for July, "Few people would argue that a shrinkage of $100 billion in market values of common stocks, held among 17 million persons, is having no effect on spending decisions." This factor alone might well be enough to produce a more than "normally" severe recession. But it seems to us that this is not really the main point. There is now a general *awareness* that the economy is stagnant, that most industries have far more capacity than they are likely to need in the foreseeable

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future, that profits are sagging, and that all these conditions are on the way to getting worse, not better. Such an awareness, as bourgeois economists have always quite correctly maintained, has a powerful tendency to intensify the forces and trends on which it is based. For reasons which have been detailed in these pages many times—built-in "stabilizers" and all that sort of thing—no headlong liquidation and collapse à la 1929-1933 seems likely. But a steeper and longer decline than any since World War II appears to be a strong probability.

Unless, of course, the Kennedy administration takes effective measures to bring the period of stagnation to an end.

But what?

The "normal" postwar method of stimulating the economy has been to intensify the Cold War—or, as in the case of Korea, provoke a limited hot war—and then to jack up the military budget. Mr. Kennedy, however, has already tried this on a rather impressive scale, though without impressive results. In 1960, the last Eisenhower year, the federal government spent $45.7 billion on "national defense." By the second quarter of 1962, this had risen to an annual rate of $53.3 billion, up nearly 17 percent in the short space of a year and a half. Furthermore, this shot in the arm was applied to an economy which had just been through a recession and had begun a recovery. As we now know, however, its effects have been feeble. While much of this latest upswing was doubtless due to the expansion of military spending, it is obvious that no vigorous or sustained prosperity resulted.

The reasons for this disappointing outcome are not far to seek. In the first place, even a seven-plus-billion-dollar increase in military spending, frightening as its implications are from the point of view of the destructive power of the American war machine, is no more than enough to offset temporarily the powerful stagnationist forces at work in the corporate sector of the U. S. economy. And in the second place, rapidly changing military technology—away from mass-produced planes, tanks, artillery, etc., and in favor of highly specialized missiles, atomic warheads, etc.—means that each dollar added to the military budget today has far less impact on the economy than a few

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years ago.*

Thus recent experience does not encourage the view that a new turn of the Cold War screw can do the trick. That once-popular remedy for economic ills seems to have lost its efficacy. And besides, there are at least a few signs that the Kennedy administration, in the interest of sheer survival, is beginning to show an interest in methods of checking the arms race. To the extent that this form of rationality—all to the good as far as it goes—is cultivated in Washington, it must become increasingly difficult to use the Cold War as an instrument of economic policy.

And so the talk now is all of a tax cut.

Now, there can be no doubt that a *sufficiently big* tax cut, *of the right kind,* and *without any reduction of government spending,* would have the effect of reversing the stagnationist trend of recent years. Continued long enough, indeed, such a tax cut would sooner or later generate a text-book type of inflation. Whether it is likely to be forthcoming, now or in the visible future, is, however, another question. For our part, we doubt it.

There are several reasons for this skepticism. For one thing, even those who talk most loudly about the need to "get the economy going again" are afraid of too much success. The reason is the delicate balance-of-payments problem facing the country. At the moment, matters are going quite well on that front, but the sad truth is that a spell of real prosperity would be very likely to produce a drastic worsening of the balance of payments. Any sustained increase in effective demand would almost certainly induce U. S. corporate giants to raise their prices, and this would be followed by a general upward movement of the whole price-wage structure. As a consequence, exports would fall, imports rise, and the U. S. would be less able

* A most dramatic aspect of this shift in military technology is the sharp decline of the share of military prime contract awards going to the traditional heavy-industry states and the equally sharp increase in the share going to the "brain-power" states. Thus, for example, between the Korean War and 1961, the combined share of Michigan and Illinois declined from 14.5 percent to 4.7 percent, while the combined share of California and Massachusetts shot up from 16.4 percent to 28.7 percent. (*Business Week,* June 30, 1962, p. 38.)

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than ever to carry the burden of subsidizing anti-socialist regimes all over the world. Faced with a choice between stagnation at home and the break-up of the anti-socialist alliance abroad, no red-blooded member of the U. S. oligarchy could hesitate for a moment. So one may well doubt whether there is *any* significant political force in the country that really wants a *sufficiently big* tax cut.

With regard to the possibility of getting the *right kind* of a tax cut, the outlook is, if anything, even dimmer. For maximum effectiveness, of course, the cut should benefit the lower-income classes exclusively. But this is not at all what the Chamber of Commerce, *Fortune* magazine, and other conservative-to-reactionary clamorers for a tax cut have in mind. What *they* want is relief for the millionaire and the giant corporation. That this is what the Kennedy administration also envisages when it talks about the possibility of a cut is clearly indicated in the recently announced liberalization of the rules governing the tax deductibility of depreciation allowances. All such cuts favoring corporations and their beneficiaries, whether administrative or legislative in origin, are likely to have little effect in the short run and to aggravate the too-high-profits dilemma in the long run. And a minimal political sop to the little fellow, in the form of a reduction of a few billion dollars in the "take" from those in the lowest tax bracket, would not make much difference.

Finally, it is by no means certain that even a tax cut that is too small and of the wrong kind can be put through *without any reduction of government spending*. In the conservative view, a tax cut and a reduction in spending are logical counterparts: "There is nothing wrong with the U. S. economy," opines the First National City Bank in the *Monthly Economic Letter* already cited, "that retrenchment of federal spending and taxing, and moderation of wage demands, cannot cure." This would be laughable if it weren't for the fact that a large number of Congressmen, probably amounting to a substantial majority of both House and Senate, agree. Republican National Chairman William E. Miller is reported in the *New York Times* of August 7th as saying that he "would support a tax cut only if President Kennedy's administration reduced budget demands for public health, education, agriculture, and public works." In this, there

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is little reason to doubt that Mr. Miller speaks not only for his own party but for the Southern Democrats who, in alliance with the Republicans, have demonstrated such easy mastery over the 87th Congress.

What is likely to come of all the tax-cut talk, then, is too little, of the wrong kind, and accompanied by a reduction in spending. If that should happen the result could easily be a strengthening of the forces of stagnation. On the other hand, the chance that a large enough cut, of the right kind, and with no reduction of spending will be forthcoming seems, as of mid-August, to be vanishingly small.

United States capitalism, which comprises a political system as well as an economic system, is at an impasse. The disastrous trend of economic events is by now clearly visible; but given the present structure of political power, nothing can be done about it. And the bitter truth is that even this sad state of affairs has as yet given rise to no coherent or meaningful opposition.

(August 12, 1962)

There was a Soviet joke in circulation some time ago, which gains point with every year that passes:

Question: What is the greatest problem facing the President of the United States? Answer: Is it possible to have capitalism in one country?

—*Joan Robinson, Economics of 1962*

A run of seventeen years without a serious recession is a unique experience for capitalism. It has undermined the traditions of English socialism by making it seem plausible to argue that "capitalism has changed." So, indeed it has, in that respect.

But how deep does the change go? It has not been proved that recessions can be avoided except by armament expenditure, and, since to justify armaments, international tension has to be kept up, it appears that the cure is a good deal worse than the disease. It has not been proved that continuous prosperity is compatible with stable prices. It has not been proved that a tolerable system of trading relations can be developed between nations each pursuing its own economic policy. Above all it has not been found possible to maintain the pace of development without which the system is continually in danger of falling below its stalling speed.

—*Joan Robinson, Economics of 1962*

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON CUBA

BY J. P. MORRAY

Professor Joseph P. Morray, author of *Pride of State* and *From Yalta to Disarmament,* has just returned to the United States after a two-year stay in Cuba where he taught at the University of Havana and wrote a book tentatively entitled *The October Revolution in Cuba.* The book will be published by Monthly Review Press early in 1963.

In pursuance of our policy of keeping MR readers as fully informed as possible on latest developments in Cuba, we took the opportunity of Professor Morray's return to interview him on the present situation in the Western Hemisphere's first socialist country.—The Editors

From the stories in our press, one would gather that the Cubans are in great trouble economically, politically, and psychologically. Is this true? Just how badly off are the people?

The troubles are mainly economic. Income has gone up as a result of more steady employment and a reduction in such expenses as electricity and rents. The tenant farmers, for example, are now owners and have extra money to spend. Farm laborers, who formerly worked only four months a year, now have steady incomes. These people were at the bottom of the economic ladder. They are now consuming more than ever before. The increase in consumption in the countryside is greater than the increase in production. Therefore there are shortages in the cities. Although production has gone up, this is due to an increase in the number of workers and the amount of land employed, not to an increase in productivity. Good administrators are extremely scarce. Many of them followed their old bosses to Miami. Those who stayed were frequently lukewarm toward the Revolution. Their talents and experience have not been fully utilized, because they were suspect.

Overconfidence, inexperience, extremism on the part of the revolutionaries put in charge of farms and factories, have hurt productivity. There is much chaos and confusion in production and distribution. In general, the Cubans have never been good organizers. They are accustomed to spontaneity. Planning is still largely theoretical. They constantly repeat that it has to be introduced, but this is easier said than done. There is still no

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shame at a failure to meet quotas, since practically no one meets quotas.

Economic underdevelopment is registered, not only in a shortage of machinery, but in a low level of technical and administrative skills. The deficiency of machines is the lesser problem. The socialist countries can remedy this as rapidly as the Cubans can absorb them. But it takes years to develop good administrators, good technicians. Progress will be slow for a generation, just as it was in Russia, because this is a problem of changing customs, changing human attitudes and work habits.

Added to this handicap is the United States blockade and harassment. Much of the best human material is necessarily non-productive, because it must be kept at the task of training the youth and guarding the island from a military attack. The blockade forces the Cubans to improvize spare parts. This takes time and frequently proves impossible. Workers are non-productive while their machines are paralyzed, and this affects output all along the line.

These are the economic difficulties. They are great, but they do not imperil the Revolution. Food rationing had to be introduced in the cities, owing partly to increased consumption in the countryside and partly to the long drought, the worst in forty years. But the rations are well above the starvation level. Rice is abundant, and there is some milk, fish, meat, eggs, and starches for everyone. Every child below the age of eight years receives a liter of milk (a little more than a quart) per day. Others receive a liter for five people, enough for a cup of *cafe con leche* at breakfast. The 50,000 young people who are studying at the high-school and junior-high-school levels in the new scholarship program in Havana receive favored treatment. All look to this new generation. Rationing is an inconvenience and irritation, but it guarantees fair distribution. Most Cubans, the lower 80 to 85 percent, have a better diet today than before the Revolution. The upper-class people of the city, most of whom have always resented the Revolution, find in rationing new cause to complain. They claim to be hungry, but they don't look it. They are spoiled and feel the pinch by contrast. Some have staged street demonstrations, beating on empty dishes and pans with spoons. The counter-revolution and the United States press

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magnify these incidents.

Counter-revolutionary bands continue to exist, though on nothing like the scale of the Escambray operation in 1960. Occasionally they burn a bus or kill a militiaman. There was some burning of cane crops during the recent harvest season. No bombs have been exploded in Havana for months, a great contrast to 1960. The counter-revolution could not possibly overthrow the government.

Fidel Castro's prestige and authority are undiminished. He continues to earn people's respect by his integrity and honesty with regard to the deficiencies in organization and production. He is constantly moving about, taking people by surprise, talking with workers at all levels. No one is as well informed as he as to what is really going on; and no one as merciless in his denunciation of chaos and inefficiency and neglect. Once again he proves himself to be a voice of the people. Although he heads up the government, he manages at the same time to keep his perspective on it and see it as the people do. The Cubans have been sobered by the shortages and the production difficulties. They are newly aware that an end to foreign exploitation does not automatically solve the problem of organizing their economy. But they still have infinite confidence in Castro's ability to lead them again to victory over all obstacles. They are also psychologically and politically sustained by their membership in the socialist bloc. They see in the advances of the Soviet Union their own future. They are confident that the socialist countries will help them as necessary during the coming years.

How could Cuba change so speedily from aversion to acceptance of Communism and to dependence on the Soviet Union?

The striking contrast between the treatment accorded the Revolution in 1959 and 1960 by the United States and by the Soviet Union is the principal reason. The hostility of the United States government to the popular Revolution and Fidel Castro was not long in appearing after January 1959. By the summer of 1960 it became clear from such realities as the arms embargo, the oil embargo, and the sugar boycott, that the United States

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was determined to see the government overthrown. This made Fidel Castro and the great majority of Cubans very angry. They found they were not getting fair treatment in the American press, which made them suspect everything they had learned about socialism and Communism and the Soviet Union in the same press. At the same time the Soviet Union was able and willing to give all kinds of help at crucial moments. It provided oil when the United States companies stopped their shipments. It bought the sugar abruptly excluded from the United States market. Czechoslovakia sold Castro the arms needed to defend the Revolution. And at a moment when the United States appeared resolved to do everything necessary to stop the Revolution, Khrushchev spontaneously warned the United States that the Soviet Union would retaliate against a Pentagon attack on Cuba. Castro's impossible defiance of the United States won Soviet respect and confidence; and the sympathy and generosity of the socialist countries saved the Revolution. Castro has said it could not have survived without Soviet help. He was grateful, and the Cuban people trust Castro. They followed him into a complete change of attitude toward the socialist world. This contributed to a change of attitude toward Communism in general.

At the same time, conservative elements within Cuba forced Castro into an outspoken defense of the Communists, who were working hard, with complete loyalty to Castro, to help consolidate the Revolution. Unity between Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries was highly valued by Castro. The conservatives tried to force him to break with the Communists; and in this crisis, Castro chose unity with the Communists against the conservatives rather than unity with the conservatives against the Communists. This was his only honest course, since the Communists supported his program vigorously whereas the conservatives wanted it to be transformed into a defense of the status quo. In this fight between the Communists and the conservatives, Castro defended the Communists in order to defend the Revolution. "Unity" became a vital revolutionary slogan. Anti-Communism, because it destroyed unity, came to be a symptom of indifference or opposition to the Revolution. The vast majority of the Cuban people cherished their Revolution.

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They saw the Communists supporting it, so, like Castro, most of them discarded their anti-Communism. Not all, of course. Some turned against Castro and joined the counter-revolution. By the beginning of 1961, anti-Communism was discredited as counter-revolutionary. People's minds were open, for the first time in their lives, to a study of Marxism-Leninism and to a candid comparison of socialist and capitalist societies. Books, movies, dancers, musicians, gymnasts, expositions, and Gagarin contributed to changing "Communism" from a word of sinister meaning to a word of honor. Castro knew exactly how fast people could go in making the change. It proved to be very fast, given the circumstances and his own prestige. There is a jingle that summarizes it: "If the things Fidel does are Communism, put me on the list, too, because I'm with him."

Is there much contact between Cuba and the other Latin American countries?

Very much indeed. The Cuban Revolution divides opinion in every Latin American country. Fidel Castro is a political force all over the continent. His speeches are heard over the short-wave radio from Havana. Castro believes that an important shield of the Revolution is popular support in the Hemisphere. There are frequent Latin-American Congresses in Cuba, well attended. There are students at the University from the other Latin countries. The youth and the Left are showing continuing support.

Do you think that the United States will invade Cuba?

Not in the visible future. The United States is now trying to save the capitalist system in the rest of the Hemisphere. An invasion of Cuba would provoke popular reactions throughout the Hemisphere that would be unpredictable in their intensity and results. No Latin American government could openly support the United States and expect to survive. Such a crisis would add new perils to United States investors greater than the example of Cuba. Cuba is not going to be a showplace of socialist achievement for a long time to come. There are too many

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problems in developing Cuban productivity to permit spectacular progress. I think it likely that the United States will simply make the most of Cuba's difficulties, increasing them as much as it can by means of embargoes, isolation, aid to the counter-revolutionaries, and the constant threat of intervention, rather than run the risk of sending in the marines. Khrushchev has said repeatedly that the Soviet Union will retaliate against an American attack on Cuba, so this must give pause to anyone considering such a course. Furthermore, the United States would most likely be condemned in the United Nations for such an attack, and this would infuriate Congress. It might well lead to the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations, something the President and the State Department do not want to have forced upon them at the present stage of the struggle for support in the neutral world.

At the time of the invasion in April, 1961, Governor Rockefeller told the press, "Let's face it. The day of sending in the marines is past." Treaties, the United Nations Charter, international law—these put some restraint on a President thinking about his place in history. He does not like to be guilty of a shameful act, however popular it might be at the moment.

This is a prediction for the immediate future and in present circumstances. There are, of course, potent voices calling for an invasion. They may prevail later on as circumstances change. The tensions are not going to be relaxed.

What is the situation in relation to the Guantanamo base?

The Cuban government frequently reiterates two things: (1) It wants the United States to withdraw and return the base to Cuba; (2) No military attack on the base will be launched. One of the government's fears is that the United States or the counter-revolution will create a pretext for an American attack on Cuba by staging a phoney attack on the base, laying it to the Castro government. Therefore, great care is taken to keep the Cuban populace and world opinion clear on Cuban policy: recovery of the base will be sought through legal channels only. Perhaps they will take the issue to the World Court or the United Nations. In the meantime the government

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continues to allow Cubans to work on the base. They are required to convert their dollars into pesos at Cuban banks, so this serves as a source of some badly needed foreign exchange. Cuban employees suspected of dealing in the black market with their dollars lose their Cuban permit to cross the boundary into the base. This is easy to police, since the dollar wages of most of the employees are known. If they cannot account for these amounts in official transactions at Cuban banks, which have been set up outside the gates of the base, their permits will not be renewed.

What is the theme of your book about Cuba?

The second Revolution, the socialist Revolution. It is my thesis that there have been two Revolutions. The first, which occurred with the flight of Batista in January, 1959, corresponded to the February Revolution in Russia in 1917. It installed a liberal, bourgeois Republic. Since then a socialist Revolution, corresponding to the October Revolution of 1917, has also taken place. My book explores and analyzes the development of this October Revolution in Cuba.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN CUBA
BY J. P. MORRAY
will be published by MR Press early in 1963. Details of our prepublication offer will be announced in an early issue.

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BRAZIL, A CHRISTIAN COUNTRY

BY FRANCISCO JULIAO

From Morro da Queimada, from this Villa Rica de Ouro Preto, the heart of Minas Gerais, which is the portrait and synthesis of Brazil's misery, I write to you fellow citizen and companion, to you living in the fields and in the cities, waiting for the hour of your redemption, and I am sure that you will listen to me, because I am not any longer a voice lost in the vastness of our country.

From all the corners of huge Brazil, from the landless campesino of Parana to the "canoero" of the Amazonas, from the soldier to the general, from the worker of Volta Redonda to the manufacturer of Sao Paulo, from the student of Goiaz to the professor of Guanabara, from the "candango" of Brasilia to the "maloqueiro" of Porto Alegre, from the official to the small grocer, from physicians, lawyers, engineers, Catholics, Protestants, spiritists, Communists and non-Communists, from men of every political party and every philosophical creed I have received hundreds and hundreds of letters and telegrams offering warm support to the Ligas Campesinas (Peasant Leagues) and the struggle we are fighting against the latifundia and for land reform.

From other countries, such as Chile, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, and Bolivia, to name a few, I have received calls and invitations. What does all this mean? It means that the people of my country and the brotherly peoples of other countries, the humble and the patriotic, feel that I am the bearer of a high and generous message for the oppressed and the exploited of the cities and the fields, so high and generous that the mercenary

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Francisco Juliao is the head of the Peasant Leagues of Brazil, a relatively new organization of poor peasants with a program of agrarian reform much like that which inspired the victory of the Cuban Revolution. The article itself is a speech made at a public meeting of the Peasant Leagues in Ouro Preto and is here presented in a translation made by Uruguayan friends from the text as published in Spanish in the Montevideo weekly *Marcha* of May 18, 1962.

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press which serves reaction, the landlords and the trusts, cannot tarnish it with the drivel of its calumnies, base acts, and hatred.

Let us think of Brazil. The picture I am going to paint for you, fellow citizen and companion, is without exaggeration still darker in the rest of the Latin American countries, all of them (with the sole exception of Cuba) dominated by "Christian democracy."

Our population is seventy million. Keep that in mind, we are the fifth country in the world in territorial size and the eighth in population, and you will see what we are reduced to. Let us start with elections because through them we choose the government and the parliament. Both government and parliament with lower case type. Do you know, friend, that less than one fifth of our population voted in the last elections, even though they were the most disputed elections in all our Republic's life? Why is that so? Because illiterates do not vote in a country that is not ashamed to show 90 percent illiteracy among the rural masses and 70 percent in the total population. And those who vote, under what conditions do they go to the polls? That very small percentage of voters, from which privates and sailors are excluded, has not even the right to select its candidates. They do not emerge from the people but are the product of a shady deal, a deal between persons and groups that act according to their own interests. Those groups are the political parties. When, exceptionally, the candidate comes from the masses, he is screened by the parties, he must submit to their requirements, hide his own ideals, twist his conscience, lie to the people. Once he is elected he discards the platform he used during his campaign because he is a prisoner of the array of forces and vested interests that form those groups. Because behind those parties, the big parties, pulling the strings, are the forces that hold economic power.

What are those forces? The landlords, the big manufacturers, the bankers, the go-between bourgeoisie, and above them all, North American imperialism. Those are just the forces that decide in parliament, where the law is made. Their law. If our constitution denies the vote to the illiterate, the sailor, and the soldier, if the electoral system provides unequal treatment for parties and candidates, if the purchasing of votes, the stealing of

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consciences, the control of propaganda, the counterfeiting of the popular will, and widespread corruption are allowed, what are the results? The landless campesinos, that is, those who form the great majority of our population, are not represented either in the government or in Congress. Whence there occurs, in Brazil and the other representative democracies of Latin America, this curious, grotesque, disgusting, cynical, phenomenon: the landlord makes the law for the campesino, the banker makes the law for the housewife, the shark for the student, the general for the soldier, and imperialism makes the law for our country, the country that it plunders without mercy, as it does in Amapá with the manganese, and through the 400 companies that suck abroad the blood, the sweat, and the tears of millions of Brazilians. With this system, a mixture of tricks and collusion, they construct, build up, balance, maintain, praise, and exalt representative democracy, the more Christian for its being "Western."

You will see now, my brother, my friend, my fellow, some tragic figures, cruel, frightening figures that our representative democracy offers "Christianly" to the world, while other peoples, already liberated from that plague, that lie, that crime, that punishment, that infamy, build a new society, a new civilization, another humanity, without lies or fears, with the land, the factories, the schools, the culture, the bread, the houses, freedom, and the future within reach, if not yet of all, of the great majority.

No less than 80 percent of arable and pasture lands of our country belong to 2 percent of the Brazilians. I am speaking of the best lands, of those that have communications and roads to the great centers of population. There are landowners with more than 200,000 hectares while tens of thousands of campesinos do not own a single inch of land. Those brothers of ours will be buried alive before long, as if planted, and only then will they occupy their seven feet of earth.

Of those arable and pasture lands, less than 10 percent are cultivated. Some people say that if all the plantations of coffee, sugar cane, yerba, millet, cotton, rice, wheat, and other products cultivated in the country were put together, they would not cover the area of the State of Piaui. Stretching from Sergipe to Ceará, the Northeast has a humid strip of about 46,000 kilometers. Of

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that strip only 4,000 kilometers are occupied by cane and other crops. The rest is idle or under-utilized, subject to real estate speculation or serving as collateral for the big juicy loans that the Banco de Brazil and other credit institutions grant to the landlords. That happens in a zone where the population density is higher than in many European countries and where misery borders despair. That is why the Ligas Campesinas have been born in the Northeast and in the humid strip. But not only in the Northeast is there misery. It is all over the country. Feudal relations prevail everywhere. In the State of Sao Paulo there are 1,400,000 campesinos without land. According to that State, that has enacted an agrarian reform plan considered the most advanced in the country—so advanced that its author, Agriculture Secretary José Bonifacio, has made of it the main plank in his Congressional candidacy's platform—it would take 2,000 years to give land to all those campesinos. In the "mining triangle," it is common to hear the poor campesino say that his 10-year-old child has never tasted cow meat. In Rio Grande Do Sul, the "colono" gives away half of his rice crop as payment for the rent of the land. The civil code defends sharecropping with teeth and nails and consecrates every kind of unrighteousness. Our civil legislation is seriously sick. And old. And the Brazilian still more sick. He is sad. Anciolostomiasis, according to information obtained by Franklin de Oliveira, affects 23 million Brazilians, endemic bocium 18.5 million, paludism 8 million, esquisostomosis 4 million, trachoma one million, syphilis 600,000, leprosy 64,000, and mental diseases 43,000. No less than 100,000 persons die every year of tuberculosis.

Every 42 seconds a child dies, that is 85 every hour, 2,040 every day. Every year, 6 million Brazilians aged under 16 are taken to the cemetery. Of each 1000 children, 350 and even 400 die before reaching one year of age. The average life expectancy in the Northeast is 27 years. More than 30 million Brazilians do not wear shoes, hundreds of thousands live nude, in infested huts, like animals. More than 90 percent of the prostitutes in Brazil are from the country and illiterate. They grow up like flowers over the latifundium's decay. The worker also comes from the fields. And the soldier. All are branded by servitude. All are running away from the big stick, the

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"capanga," from injustice. But latifundium comes to the cities too, in the soul of the captain of industry, who carries feudalism to the factories. In Brazil every manufacturer is a big landlord. And as the landlord commands more power than the manufacturer because he has lived here longer, something shocking happens: the indifference, the wonderment, or the resistance of the manufacturer to the agrarian reform, notwithstanding that this is the way to create a strong internal market that could liberate him from external pressure. He prefers to be quietly swallowed up by imperialism as the onza does with the yacaré, or give it the lion's share, fearing that an alliance with the underdog could put an end to private property in the land and in the means of production and lead to socialism. That is why they prefer the "Alliance for Progress."

Do you know, my friend and fellow, that only half of the infant population of the country—8 million children—goes to school and that only one tenth of them finishes the primary course? And that education reaches only 950,000 of the 14 million persons between seven and eighteen years old? And last, that only 5 percent of Brazilian youth is able to enter the University?

I could tell you now about the fabulous earnings of that privileged minority that once killed Felipe dos Santos and hung Tiradentes, coming now all together to Ouro Preto, to shed crocodile tears. I prefer to tell you about another mass of oppressed people almost as insecure and exploited as the city or the field workers: the great masses of the middle class without the right to a roof that also demand urgently an agrarian reform. They are the families' heads and housewives haunted by high prices that go up an average of 3.5 percent per month, by the difficulties in the way of educating, caring for, and guiding the family towards a future of decency and security. They are the small storekeepers, small manufacturers, and artisans that are bled white by taxes and by the sharks from within and without.

This is a pale picture of the present Brazil. This is the homeland over which the Southern Cross, so often invoked, shines quietly every night, as it did before the first plunderer arrived, and as it will after we drive out the robbers of its resources.

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The democracy we want for Brazil is very different. The name matters very little, as long as it is for the people. Let it be called Christian, popular, or socialist, as long as it brings as its first step a radical agrarian reform. But, I ask you, my fellow and my friend, if it is possible to bring forth such a reform inside the present system. The whole nation knows that a new farce is in the making. The industry of anti-Communism is already at work with enormous publicity. To sustain it, a little safety-box with billions in it is built up, then an alliance of the small minority of the big against the big majority of the small is made, the sacred family unites, the public relations men make dupes of the masses, the most highfalutin slogans are flown to the winds, rivers of money flow, the nation is stirred, and finally the mountain gives birth to a mouse. The comedy is staged again. The magician changes his style, his gestures, his words, but the wand that once belonged to Portuguese colonialism is today in the hands of Uncle Sam. Pan Americanism, the Good Neighbor, the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, Alliance for Progress, Food for Peace, words, panaceas, patches, everything to hide the unending plundering of riches, the remittance of dividends that goes on and on, all in exchange for loans that do not finance industrialization but are used, in compensation, to indemnify the telephone and power companies, in cold cash, at actual rates of exchange without discounts, with the previous deal made in Washington, between smiles, under the dance of the millions, the applause of the ruling oligarchy, the muffled rebelliousness of the people, and the sell-out of our country. They run to save the Northeast—as if Brazil were now only the Northeast—from hunger and poverty, and also from the "demagoguery of bad Brazilians" interested in harassing the "Christian family," in installing the rule of the "wall," in Cubanizing the country against its "glorious democratic traditions," in installing "foreign" regimes, alien to our peaceful natures. For these last minute "saviors," the "Christian family" is that which lives in a palace, travels in a Cadillac convertible, and owns the land, the cattle, the banks, the industry, the commerce, the public job, and the people's life. The Christian family is not the one who lives in a hut, in the "favela," in the "maloca," in the dead end, or barely subsists in the latifundium,

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under the violence of share-cropping, the barracks, the bodyguard, the police torturer. The Christian family is that of the landlord who arms himself to the teeth throughout the country with the rifle or the machine gun, to parade as a feudal lord the private ownership of the land.

Brazil, a "Christian country," has land to spare, but there is not enough land for millions of campesinos. Brazil, a "Christian country," has inexhaustible resources, but also hundreds of thousands of unemployed. Brazil, a "Christian country," has landlords that live off the rent from one hundred, two hundred, five hundred, one thousand houses, while there are millions crowded in miserable huts like pigs. Brazil, a "Christian country," has millionaires that make a 9000 percent profit on their capital that multiplies as fast as the germs of pest, and, like those murderers, coldly kill those who make possible the miracle of the multiplication. Brazil, a "Christian country," has the sad privilege of having the highest infant mortality rate in Latin America, in spite of the industrialization and the development so much vaunted during the most foreign-dominated administration in the history of Brazil. Brazil, a "Christian country," is underdeveloped, underfed, subjugated. Everything here ends in pillage, lies, theft, insolence. Now agrarian reform is fashionable, the subject of the day, the most important issue in this election year. Then, the young Minister of Agriculture, owner of many acres of land in an area where the campesino is most miserable, runs all over the country showing off this agrarian reform bill, hailing it as the cure-all the system needs. When one peruses the bill, one becomes sure that a Minister in the times of the Portuguese Empire would have drafted a bolder bill and obtained the support even of the slave-owners. Education tenderly cared for by the profitable industry of the private schools, is discussed everywhere, while the number of illiterates goes up and the possibilities diminish for the youth, the son of the worker, or of the middle class, to go to school or even to dream of college. Wages, swallowed up by inflation, provide no longer for daily bread, which is not ours any more but belongs to the wheat trust. Freedom in this "Christian country" means not to touch the privileges of the ruling caste. Human dignity in this "Christian country" is measured by the bank account, the factory

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chimneys, the big jobs, and the genuflexions before Mr. Kennedy.

I confess to you, brother, friend, and fellow, that I would pray, and with me millions of Brazilians, a Lord's prayer for the eternal rest of this democracy that fattens the shark and starves the people, grants tax-exemptions to the landlords and denies the land to the campesino, allows a corporation to make a 9000 percent profit but orders a machine gun pointed at the chest of the worker who strikes for a wage raise, gives foreign investment a free hand to monopolize the country's resources and moreover lets it freely transfer its earnings abroad, manufactures field marshals, five-star generals and admirals, but denies stability to the sergeant and the vote to the soldier and the sailor. The law is enforced only when it favors the powerful, that is to say "the Christian family," and so much so that social welfare is blackmail, rural unions still do not exist, the robber of the poor does not go to jail, and not a single provision of labor legislation is ever made to operate to favor the campesino. The Communist Party is denied the right to put up its own candidates for public office—and this does not happen even in Catholic Italy, the Italy of that kind and friendly "campesino" Juan XXIII—without any justification, as the party exists anyway, publishes its press, takes part in the political life of the country, and makes alliances with other parties.

I do not believe that the redemption of my country will come from ballots. Or from elites. Or from the Christian family. It will come, and this I do believe, from the desperate masses, the landless campesino, the idle unemployed or underpaid worker, from the student without college, from the children without future, from the old people without past, from the illiterate, from the soldier and sailor without vote, from the poor father, from the priest who does not give his blessing to Uncle Sam, from the intellectual who does not hire out his pen or sell his conscience, from the artisan, from the small storekeeper, from the housewife, from all those who have a heart to feel and a mouth to sing the words of our national anthem: "Let our fatherland be free or let us die for Brazil."

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REFLECTIONS ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY H. H. WILSON

It is perhaps fortunate that human memory is so brief, for otherwise we might lose our sanity. On the other hand our inability to remember the lessons of the past dooms us to repeat our errors.

On July 17, 1936, Spanish army officers began the revolt against the legitimate, popularly elected Republican government of Spain. More than ninety percent of the Spanish military officers turned traitor: "only about 200 regular officers remained with the Republic out of 14,000" (Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War,* p. 205.) Yet what was supposed to be a speedy capture of power and the establishment of a dictatorial government in a matter of days was frustrated by the refusal of common soldiers and the masses of Spanish people to surrender.

The revolt therefore became a civil war and one of the great tragedies of the 20th century. Despite foreign intervention, which probably began before Franco and his colleagues had completed their plans, it was truly a civil war. And it was a civil war in two respects: for the Spanish people it brought all the horror and suffering and peculiar cruelty of such conflicts, which seem almost to be bloodier and more savage than wars between nations. And for the world, it was a civil war in which the Right, the anti-democrats, the fascists, the privileged, sought to destroy democracy, socialism, the popular aspirations of the deprived and under-privileged. As Thomas notes, "the financiers of Europe and America not only expected the Nationalists to win but desired them to." (Thomas, p. 273.) It was a world struggle in which the proletariat and the political Left fought for the Loyalists. In a real sense it was the opening of World War II which was to begin officially within six months after Loyalist Spain was finally strangled.

This is a revised version of a talk given at a meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on April 13. Professor H. H. Wilson teaches political science at Princeton University.

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No one can examine the history of Spain over the period of a century, and especially the years between 1932 and 1936, without being appalled by the complexity of the problems confronting that society. The elections of February, 1936, had produced a completely Republican government, but one badly divided and inherently weak—even unable to govern. Two alliances had contested the elections: the Popular Front, which was composed of middle class liberals, the Socialists who were bitterly split, and the Communist Party which was very small, with 30,000 members at most and only 16 deputies in the Cortes. On the other side was the National Front, made up of the Catholic parties, the Monarchists, the fascists, and other middle-class, right-wing parties. "It could be regarded as the political front for all the forces of old Spain, the largest landowners of the south, the Army, as well as of the Church and the bourgeoisie." (Thomas, p. 5.) Outside, refusing even to participate in the election, were nearly two million Anarchist workers who were as hostile to the liberal Republican government as to governments of the Right. (During the war the Anarchists didn't even want the help of the International Brigades.) After the elections, the Left became increasingly disunited, while the Right became more and more consolidated.

It may be that a major lesson the Spanish experience can teach is that no viable society is possible where the contending parties or forces operate on the "friend-enemy" conception of politics. That is, where hatred and violence are the common response to political differences and where the opposition is not merely a rival for office but is considered an enemy to be destroyed. Actually, from 1933 on, Spain was marked by a steady decline into chaos, violence, murder, and finally war. Social and economic conditions made for an explosive situation that any government would have had difficulty in controlling. Poverty was the lot of most of the four and a half million agricultural workers, and the two to three million industrial workers and miners were only slightly better off. Virtually all authority —Army, Civil Guards, Church—were looked upon as tools of the wealthy and privileged. This situation made inevitable the chaotic violence which occurred in the early days of the revolt, before the Republican government was able to restore order. The

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attack on the Church was especially significant because of its impact on foreign opinion. Few outside Spain realized that two-thirds of the Spaniards were not practicing Catholics, or that for a hundred years every instance of social breakdown had brought destruction of churches throughout Spain. "At no time in the history of Europe or even perhaps of the world has so passionate a hatred of religion and all its works been shown. . . . The Spanish working class attacked churchmen because they thought them hypocrites and because they seemed to give a false spiritual front to middle-class society or upper-class tyranny." (Thomas, p. 175.) Unfortunately, the Falange and Franco were able to capitalize on this to their own advantage, although previously there had been no evidence of piety in the fascist organization. Undeniably in the early days of the revolt terror reigned in the cities, order collapsed, assassinations occurred by the thousands along with other excesses on both sides—but the Republican government received the adverse publicity.

It was inevitable considering the ties of both Right and Left to Europe, that foreign participation would begin immediately. The Spanish economy was largely foreign-owned and controlled. A United States company owned the telephone system; a British firm owned the copper mines; the Armstrong Company controlled a third of the cork; and Belgian firms held railroads, timber, and coal mines. The German Nazis had a strong following, thanks to the pro-Nazi German colony of 12,000 to 15,000 in Spain at the time. Yet the hoax of "Non-Intervention" was insisted upon by the British government and accepted by a weak and divided France.

On August 15, 1936, Great Britain and France agreed to abstain from all intervention and to ban direct or indirect export of material to either side. Other countries—Germany, Italy, Portugal, the Soviet Union—professed to follow this lead and to participate in the hoax, as did the United States independently. Actually, the British and French governments were less concerned with ending intervention than with creating that appearance. Of course the denial of arms to a legal government was a departure from law, historical practice, and a violation of the rights of Spain. In reality, Axis intervention began im-

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mediately in July, and continued throughout the war as Germany and Italy poured in material, planes, tanks, pilots, technicians, and troops. The Nazis sent in at least 16,000 men and millions of dollars worth of material, all on credit. The Italians had a fully equipped army of 50,000 men fighting with Franco, and Portugal sent another 20,000 troops. Throughout the war, Franco's forces never lacked for supplies of any kind. Oil, for example, was supplied throughout the war on long-term credit by the Texas Company, despite the U. S. Embargo Act.

"Non-Intervention" was, however, successful in crippling the Loyalist Government and was primarily responsible, along with German and Italian aid, for the ultimate success of the Axis and Franco. The Blum Government in France sold planes and arms early in the war and allowed supplies sent by Russia to go through French territory. Not until October, 1936, however, did the Soviet Union begin sending limited aid to the Republican government. "Russian help started late and ended long before the war drew to a close." (Herbert L. Matthews, *The Yoke and the Arrows,* p. 23.) On five separate occasions the Spanish government unsuccessfully appealed to the League of Nations for help against the Axis and for the right to purchase arms in its own defense.

Through the operation of the Neutrality Acts and the Embargo Act of January 8, 1937, the United States government cut off supplies from the legitimate government of Spain and contributed to Franco's success. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, adequately characterized this illegal action when he wrote in 1944: "Of all our blind isolationist policies, the most disastrous was our attitude on the Spanish civil war. . . . In the long history of the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration, there has been, I think, no more cardinal error than the policy adopted during the civil war in Spain." (*The Time for Decision,* pp. 57, 61.)

Throughout the months, the farcical "Non-Intervention" Committee meeting in London refused to admit what the world knew: that there was a steady flow to Franco of German technicians, aviators, tank specialists, engineers, and Italian troops by the thousands, as well as planes, guns, tanks, and munitions

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from both Italy and Germany. In other words, the "Non-Intervention" Committee was the device by which all European states supervised intervention in the Spanish civil war. Frederick Schuman's comment in 1938 strikes the appropriate note:

> When gentlemen tell things which they know to be false to other gentlemen who believe them true, the result is deception. When the other gentlemen know that what they are told is false, the result, to outside observers, is hilarity. But when the first gentlemen also know that the other gentlemen know that what is said is false, the result is play-acting. And when all the gentlemen exchange statements which all know to be false, the play becomes a farce. The farce becomes delectable indeed when all the gentlemen pretend to one another that all the falsehoods are true. (*Europe On The Eve,* p. 283.)

At one level, the behavior of the British and French leadership may appear to have been irrational, for the ultimate result of the Franco victory was to strengthen the sworn enemies of Britain and France. From another perspective and from the standpoint of their class interest, "Non-Intervention" can be seen as a rational policy calculated to weaken radicalism and mobilize fascism for the assault on the Soviet Union and the ultimate destruction of Communism. Anti-Communism was thus the phobia that prevented apparently reasonable men from recognizing that they were undermining the power position of their own countries. It is an almost perfect illustration of the irrationality fostered by acceptance of the disease theory of Communism. To justify their support of Franco, it was necessary to establish the myth of a Communist-dominated Loyalist government. This was false then and known to be false by anyone capable of reading the facts. At no time did the Communists control Spain, nor was there any likelihood that they would do so in the foreseeable future. At the start of the civil war, the government was composed of middle-class liberals; in the Cortes there were 16 Communists out of 473 deputies, in the whole country there were not more than 30,000 Communist Party members. Republican Spain did not even have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, so there was no Soviet Embassy in

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Madrid when the war started. Franco's manifesto when he left the Canary Islands to start the rebellion did not so much as mention the Communists. Though naturally Communist influence increased during the civil war—a result of their disciplined loyalty to the Republican government plus the aid from the Soviet Union when no other country (with one or two minor exceptions) gave help—at no time did Communists have control.

Denied the support of Western governments and the powerful in those societies, the Loyalist government did have the overwhelming moral support of common people, writers, artists, and intellectuals in all countries. Active participation in fighting the war was provided by the individual volunteers in the International Brigade. It is estimated that some 40,000 men volunteered, though there were never more than 18,000 in Spain at any one time. This was a unique phenomenon in modern history, with men pouring in from all over the world to fight in what they deemed a just cause. Exact figures for all the nationalities are not available, but thousands of French, German, Austrians, Italians, British, Canadians, and Yugoslavs fought with the International Brigade, and many others served as doctors, nurses, and technicians. Some 3,200 Americans fought in Spain; 1,500 were killed; and almost all the survivors were wounded at least once. It is worth emphasizing that these men were genuine volunteers who came from the four corners of the earth to fight for Loyalist Spain. As Herbert Matthews wrote at the time: "Many men have given their lives . . . not for home or country or money or because they were drafted and ordered to go, but because of the deep conviction that this world will not be worth living in if Fascism triumphed." (*Two Wars and More To Come,* p. 207.) It is noteworthy that with one exception—a small band of Irishmen—and that for only a short time, there were no volunteers on the Franco side.

The Americans fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, in three battalions: Lincoln, Washington, John Brown. Many of them were students, seamen, workers, as well as writers and painters; they were considerably younger than the other Internationals and tragically inexperienced. Losses were so heavy that the Washingtons were merged with the Lincolns. The casualty rate for the American volunteers was 90 percent, yet at

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least 600 survivors served in World War II, with several winning distinction for exceptional gallantry.

It is well to be reminded today of what these men of the American battalions represented for many of us in those days when it looked as though fascism might dominate the world. As Herbert Matthews wrote: "You cannot dismiss these youngsters with the contemptuous label of 'reds.' They are not fighting for Moscow, but for their ideals and because they would rather die than see a Fascist regime under any shape or auspices installed in the United States. The American battalions are unique in one respect, among all the Internationals they remain American to the core. . . . None of the Internationals are so conscious of their nationality." (Matthews, *Two Wars and More To Come,* p. 220.)

For many in all countries the Spanish civil war remains an open sore. One certainly has the uneasy feeling that the trials of a great people are not yet over. It is probably true to say that there was more passion involved over the issues of the civil war than even in World War II, and for many the issues at stake were more sharply defined. As always in war there was gallantry, heroism, courage, and sacrifice on the part of the individuals involved. And, perhaps also as always, the leaders of the governments involved were often cruel, savage, and brutal, or pusillanimous, dishonest, and stupid. Though it be considered heretical in these times, as a purely personal reaction I must confess to holding the same opinions of this tragic era of appeasement as I did at that time. It is one of the few instances where I feel completely justified in being dogmatic. The issues were clear in 1936, 1937, 1938—and they are equally clear today. It strikes me as one of the more sickening developments of recent years that we are expected to deny the political and moral convictions we held then. It is one thing to concede error, for one does hope to grow in knowledge if not in wisdom, but something degrading to deny what one knows to have been true then and true today. Many of us feel disgust for the partisan rewriting of history when it occurs elsewhere. What I am insisting here is that a society with democratic pretensions cannot tolerate the fictionalizing of past events to provide

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justification for contemporary policy. As one item we should remember that the majority of the American people were always in favor of the Spanish Republic and anti-Franco. While it is true that fear of war led them to favor the Neutrality Act, by December, 1938, opinion polls showed that 76 percent of the American people were in favor of lifting the arms embargo to aid Loyalist Spain.

One need not carry a torch for the Soviet Union or Communism to insist that our understanding of events in the years after 1936 is not enhanced by distorting history. If all virtue resides on one side in this present conflict of world powers, it must be a truly unique situation in the history of national states. In relation to the Soviet Union's role in Spain it is useful to recall Sumner Welles' judgment that "When the Soviet Union entered the League (September 18, 1934), even the most obstinate were soon forced to admit that it was the only major power which seemed to take the League seriously. The Soviet Government seemed to believe that the Covenant of the League meant what it said." (*The Time for Decision,* p. 31.)

It seems to me also that this objection to the rewriting of history applies to our own government's harassment of those individuals who served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They fought for us all, as did all the members of the International Brigade, and in a real not merely a poetic sense. Yet history—or governments—have treated them disgracefully. Russian and Eastern European Communists ran afoul of Stalin's suspicions and were largely eliminated. Nearly all the veterans of the Spanish Civil War in Eastern European countries were arrested and many were shot. It is true that after the death of Stalin many of those veterans who survived were given new recognition and some have risen to important positions. In the United States, we have made participation in the Spanish war evidence of subversion, if not of treason. This is a rewriting of history with a vengeance for men whose only crime was to be premature anti-Fascists.

I can conclude with nothing more pertinent than to repeat the judgment of a great newspaperman who has done his best to keep the record straight. Herbert Matthews, writing in 1957,

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had the courage and integrity to say:

No one will ever persuade me . . . that the men who came from all over the world to fight in Spain were clever or cynical or hypocritical, or that they were mere robots obeying orders (except for the few Russian leaders involved). I still say they fought against fascism and—at the time—for the democracy we know. I still say that a vast majority of them fought and died for the highest sort of moral principles.

To those of us who were there, who knew the men, who saw them fight and die, they brought a glory and enrichment to the life of our times. The record was later blurred and smeared by the hysterical form that anti-communism took after the Second World War, particularly during the horrors of McCarthyism . . . but history will set the record straight. (*The Yoke and the Arrows,* pp. 35, 27.)

There is no more significant pointer to the character of a society than the kind of history it writes of or fails to write.

—*E. H. Carr, What Is History?*

The forces in our society that are most eager for war (at least, a cold war) are the same forces that most abhor the Welfare State. It is no accident that Congress, in this first year of the Kennedy Administration, should vote without a peep of protest almost limitless billions for more arms of every description—and at the same time shelve medical care for the aged and federal aid to education.

—*Fred J. Cook, "The Juggernaut," The Nation, October* 28, 1961

A logical American policy, therefore, should be based on these concepts:

1) Survival depends, if not on disarmament, at least on armament control agreements.
2) Armament control agreements depend on reduction of international tensions.
3) Reduction of international tensions depends on agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union.
4) Agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union depend on mutual compromises.

There is no reason to believe that, given a realistic readjustment of our policy toward the Soviet Union, agreements cannot be reached. In any event, there is no alternative to trying.

—*Fred Warner Neal, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union*

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C. WRIGHT MILLS

BY RALPH MILIBAND

I mourn the death of C. Wright Mills, bitterly and personally. We had, in the last five years of his life, become close friends. I am not minded to write a detached appraisal of his work and thought. But I think I can write about the man he was, and what he was about.

Mills was 45 years old when he died of a second heart attack last March, at his home in West Nyack, near New York. He had by then long established himself as the most interesting and controversial sociologist writing in the United States. With books like *White Collar, The Power Elite,* and *The Sociological Imagination,* he had succeeded in proving to a new generation of students what most of their teachers had managed to conceal from them: that social analysis could be probing, tough-minded, critical, relevant, and scholarly; that ideas need not be handled as undertakers handle bodies, with care but without passion; that commitment need not be dogmatic; and that radicalism need not be a substitute for hard thinking. With what he called "pamphlets," like *The Causes of World War III* and *Listen, Yankee,* he had wanted, and managed, to reach a wider public, in the hope of doing what one man could against the brainwashing and intimidation to which his fellow Americans were, and are, exposed from all sides, day in and day out.

Mills was as American as could be. He was born in Texas, and liked to recall that his grandfather, in the old days of one man one gun, had died, shot in the back. However, he not only fled from the intellectual desert of Texas as soon as he had graduated from its University: let his enemies make of it what they will, he also came to feel a deep alienation from America, its ethos, its politics, its way of life. His was not the snob dislike which some Americans feel for a country incapable of matching the hierarchical graces of Europe, nor the alienation which often

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accompanies the romantic vision of vanished America, rural, small-town, face-to-face. Mills's interest in Europe was strictly sociological. Nor did he feel the need to look for radical inspiration outside America: the Wobblies would do quite well. And he was not, as some critics alleged, an *égaré* Jeffersonian, hankering for a pre-industrial age: he liked stainless steel, efficient heating systems, fast motorcycles. He was an excellent mechanic and professional with a camera. He would have made a first-class engineer. What he loathed about America was not its industrial strength, but the mess which a profit-oriented society has made, and cannot but make, of its human and material powers; not America's cars, but their built-in shoddiness, not television, but its commercialized misuse. *Caveat Emptor* did not strike him as the last word in social wisdom.

Enters *The Power Elite*. It is easy but dishonest to attribute the corruption of a society to its people. Rousseau was right: the people is never corrupt. But it is often corrupted—by those whom it pays to corrupt, by those who have the power to do it. In *White Collar,* which he thought his best book, he had analyzed the various kinds of corruption which had affected the middle layers of American society. In *The Power Elite,* he went on to locate the corruptors-in-chief, the men of the "higher immorality," and found them in three interlocking groups: the corporate rich and the "warlords" (those whom an unexpected disciple, Eisenhower by name, has called the "industrial-military complex") and the political directorate.

The Power Elite is a rich and intricate book, written, like all that Mills wrote, in a compelling style, intense, muscular, alive. It is one of the very few books to glitter among the grey mass of what, in the United States, passed for social analysis in the frightened fifties. There is room for debate about much of its detail. But I don't think there is much room for serious debate about the book's general thesis, namely, that in America some men have enormous power denied to everyone else; that these men are, increasingly, a self-perpetuating elite; that their power is, increasingly, unchecked and irresponsible; and that their decision-making, based on an increasingly "military definition of reality" and on "crackpot realism," is oriented to immoral ends.

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Mills was an angry man, with the disciplined, directed anger of the humanist in an irrational society—for what is humanism if not anger with unreason? His fiercest anger, however, was not with the Power Elite: for they were merely acting out the role cast for them by the social setting in which they were allowed to wield power; nor with American labor leaders, the men whom he had, in one of his first books, hopefully called the "New Men of Power." True, they had failed to form an effective counterweight to the Power Elite; worse, they had adopted its ethos and its purposes. But then, Mills had long given up (mistakenly, I think) the belief that organized labor could ever, in an advanced capitalist society, be the maker of radical history—the "labor metaphysic," he called that belief. It was not the Power Elite, Labor, or White Collar which angered him most, but defaulting academics and intellectuals.

To an extraordinary degree, Mills had something which is not very common among academics and intellectuals: an intense respect for the intellectual craft; for the world of ideas, knowledge, and scholarship; for the intellectual as the high priest of reason and truth. He really liked only two kinds of people: those who were good with their hands, a carpenter, a mechanic, a gunsmith; and those who were possessed by the intellectual passion, as he was himself. He never made the vulgar mistake of taking seriously only those who shared his view of the world. Unlike many radicals (not to speak of anti-radicals), he was an intensely listening man. The basic requirement was not shared opinions, but honesty and knowledge, scholarship and relevance. Every working day (and every day was a working day), he was engaged, through books, essays, articles, newspapers, in a silent but active debate with fellow writers, anywhere. I have never seen anyone read as creatively as Mills did. He couldn't even read a detective story without pencil in hand.

"All social scientists," he wrote, "by the fact of their existence, are involved in the struggle between enlightenment and obscurantism." But he knew that there was an "ought" missing from that proposition, that many social scientists, in the struggle between enlightenment and obscurantism, are on the wrong side, or refuse to be involved, which comes to the same.

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This is what roused him to indignation—conformist unthinking, reason at the eager service of unreasonable kings, sophisticated apologetics for the inexcusable, social scientists as shields of orthodoxy and bellboys of authority.

It is from that indignation that stemmed *The Sociological Imagination*. That book was both a denunciation and a plea: a denunciation of social science as abstracted triviality, as windy pretension allied to timid respectability, of the uses of social science for the purpose, not of challenge, but of adjustment; and a plea—for the big probe, for a social science "of direct relevance to urgent public issues and insistent human trouble," for the social scientist as a man fired with the will "to make a difference in the quality of human life in our time."

The trouble with Mills was that he never managed to emancipate himself from a view of the intellectual as the free man, in duty bound to help make others free. Such a romantic, naive belief is inconvenient; it poses a threat. No wonder he made enemies in the academic fraternity.

It was only in 1956 that Mills, on leave from Columbia University, first came to Europe. He had, until then, been very America-oriented. In April, 1957, he came to a weekend seminar in Surrey, organized by the Students' Union of the London School of Economics. He was a big man, who looked bigger, reserved but intensely alert, deliberate in speech and coolly appraising, unassumingly at ease with the students, whom he bowled over, quite unselfconsciously. Shortly after, in July, he and I went to Poland, where Adam Schaff as the philosopher of official Poland, and Leszek Kolakowski as the most acute of the young Polish "revisionists," showed us two parts of an equation, to which neither had the complete answer, nor could have.

Until then, Mills had generally shared the outlook of that particular stream of American radicalism which views the Soviet regime as inherently evil, and present-day Communism as the frozen caricature of a uniquely penetrating body of thought. For the record, I might as well add here that the label "Texas Trotskyite" which some people stupidly tried to pin on him was doubly inaccurate: he was born in Texas but he was not

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a Texan; nor did he ever identify himself with any of the fifty-seven varieties of American Trotskyism. He simply thought Trotsky one of the most remarkable minds of the Marxist tradition—who but a fool or an ignoramus does not? His visit to Poland, two subsequent visits to Russia, in 1960 and 1961, and much talk and debate with intellectuals in the Communist bloc, left him intensely interested and pondering, "ambiguous," as he put it, about much of Soviet society, better aware of its problems, its evils, *and* its promise. Unlike the dogmatic anti-Communists of the American Left, whom he now saw as "members of the old futilitarians of the dead Left," Mills did not react to the Soviet bloc as if he had a vested intellectual and political interest in the perpetuation of all that was evil in it: *his* world would not be shattered by the humanization of Soviet society and by the unfreezing of its Stalinist mold. Some of his friends thought and said that he had "gone soft" on the Stalinists. It was an absurd charge which deeply distressed him, more than any other attack from any other quarter ever distressed him. He was the last man to surrender his judgment and his perception to the dogmatists of either camp. He was still "working on" Communism and the Soviet bloc when he died: his last book, *The Marxists,* published shortly after his death, is the last testimony to the rare honesty he brought to that effort. One of his unfinished manuscripts was a *Letter to a Russian Intellectual,* a book in which he hoped to enter into a thorough examination of the problems, common and dissimilar, which intellectuals of East and West confront, or ought to confront.

Some men are pamphleteers by vocation. Mills was not. He became one in the late fifties, reluctantly, out of a deeply-felt need to present, to as wide an audience as could be reached, alternatives to the military definition of reality which he believed to be at the center of his country's foreign policies. What he was concerned with, he wrote about. By the late fifties, he had come to be haunted (as only idiots are not) by the fear that East and West were trapped in a terrible dialectic, which would ultimately turn the planet into a thermonuclear crematorium.

The detailed analysis and prescriptions of *The Causes of World War III* matter less here than its insistence on "the wholesale cultural and political default of NATO intellectuals

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during the past decade and a half" as one of the causes of World War III. He had no illusions as to the likelihood of his proposals being acted upon "this week by the power elite of the United States," the more so since, from their standpoint, these proposals "were indeed utopian, expensive, idealistic, unsound and, for all I know, traitorous." Mills was speaking above all to intellectuals, "scientists and artists, ministers and scholars . . . those who represent the human intellect . . . who are part of the great discourse of inquiry and reason, of sensibility and imagination." I don't know how many were persuaded, but I know that many listened, and drew strength from what they heard. He had, in those last years, become a voice and was becoming the spokesman of a movement, "the big daddy of the New Left," as someone sneered. He did not relish the role. For all his intensity and impatience, he was a singularly modest, unpretentious man. He was embarrassed by the fan mail which poured into his letter box, and he hated being distracted from the big books he wanted to write. But there was no surcease. For suddenly, there was Cuba.

As Mills wrote in *Listen, Yankee,* he had not thought much about Cuba until the summer of 1960—eighteen months after Fidel Castro took power in Havana. Cuba was forced upon his attention by visits to Brazil in the autumn of 1959 and to Mexico in the Spring of 1960. "In both Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City," he recalled, "Cuba was of course a major topic of discussion. But I did not know what was happening there, much less what I might think about it, and I was then busy with other studies." He decided to "look into" Cuba: by the time he went there in the late summer of 1960, he had set up one of his beloved "files" and had read voraciously on Cuba and Latin America. The book which came out of that trip was written in six weeks, at white heat, the way Tom Paine must have written *Common Sense,* for another revolution.

Mills was rather detached about his previous books: the next ones would be *much* better. But he was proud of *Listen, Yankee,* and with good reason. For it is a good and brave book, in which one Yankee tried to explain, well and bravely, through the fog of misrepresentation with which the American press had shrouded the island, why the Cuban Revolution was by far

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the best and most decent thing that had ever happened in and to Latin America. Mills did not go into Cuba gooey-eyed, nor did he come out of Cuba gooey-eyed. As he wrote, "I am for the Cuban Revolution. I do not worry about it. I worry for it and with it." He did believe that Castro, having been his own Kerensky and Lenin, could avoid becoming his own Stalin as well. His desperate anxiety to persuade his countrymen that the Cuban Revolution should be helped stemmed from his conviction that nothing was more likely to make the moustache and not the beard the symbol of the revolution than the United States' attempt to destroy it. Long before it happened, he had come to believe that the United States *would* attempt to destroy the Revolution by force. It filled him with bitter, helpless shame. In fact, it broke his heart. It was in December 1960 that he suffered his first major heart attack. It was altogether fitting that, when Mills died fifteen months later, Fidel Castro should have sent a wreath to the funeral. For Mills was a casualty of the Cuban Revolution, and of the revolution of our times.

C. Wright Mills cannot be neatly labelled and catalogued. He never belonged to any party or faction; he did not think of himself as a "Marxist"; he had the most profound contempt for orthodox Social Democrats and for closed minds in the Communist world. He detested smug liberals and the kind of radical whose response to urgent and uncomfortable choices is hand wringing. He was a man on his own, with both the strength and also the weakness which go with that solitude. He was on the Left, but not of the Left, a deliberately lone guerrilla, not a regular soldier. He was highly organized, but unwilling to *be* organized, with self-discipline the only discipline he could tolerate. He had friends rather than comrades. Despite all this, perhaps because of it, he occupied a unique position in American radicalism. He was desperately needed by socialists everywhere, and his death leaves a gaping void. In a trapped and inhumane world, he taught what it means to be a free and humane intellect. "Get on with it," he used to say. "Work." So, in his spirit, let us.

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THE RETURN TO ORGANIZING

BY GAYLORD C. LEROY

Many signs point to a return to organizing. The chief issue, clearly, will be peace. For fifteen years we have been immobilized, and now at last events appear to have reached a state where we can expect movement on the part of the punch-drunk giant.

What a relief, to be able to look forward to organizational work again. The great lesson many learned in the 30's was that the indispensable instrument for social advance is not moral suasion or education (as the ruling class invariably insists) but organizational pressure and power. In the long period, when it proved impossible for most of us to work organizationally, many felt unmanned; they were living (to a greater or less degree) ineffectual lives.

This is a good time to ask how organizing in the 60's will compare with the 30's. We are almost bound to conclude, I think, that the task is going to be harder. But the picture is not entirely one-sided.

Things will be harder partly because we lack the sense of urgency of the 30's. One's feeling then was that the depression constituted an atrocious offense against reason, quite apart from the injury that was being done in other ways. Nothing was so important as to correct the frightful irrationalism and injustice one was surrounded with. To speak for myself, as soon as I felt certain that the indispensable means of correcting the wrongs of that time was to build working-class organizations, I saw that I'd have to drop everything else and get into the labor movement. And when I had done this, I found that many of the people I was with had gone into the labor movement for much the same reasons.

Today, with a long period behind us of what the economists, I believe, call "prosperity," we don't have anything like the same feeling of urgency. This in spite of the fact that the threat today

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is more terrible by far than the threat of the 30's. What men faced then was starvation amidst plenty, the insanity of idleness when every kind of work needed to be done. Today the threat is denudation of the skin of the earth in radioactive firestorms. But as everyone knows, people have learned to deaden their minds to the present threat, and it is not going to be as easy to organize them in terms of firestorms as it was to organize people in the 30's in terms of unemployment.

Then there is the new thinness of personal relationships—this also will make organizing difficult in the 60's. We touch each other less than in the past, and in more inconsequential ways. Partly because of the time we spend in front of television sets and in automobiles. Partly too, perhaps, because some of us have learned to behave the way the advertisers want us to, and have come actually to see ourselves as well-dressed, well-groomed people with an amazing aptitude for getting ecstatic over new cars, old whiskeys, and polyester fibers. This then becomes the side of ourselves we show our neighbors.

If you walk into one of the new bowling arenas and see the neatly turned out people in all 101 lanes going through the movements of recreation without having even to open their mouths to form words, it is possible to get a sudden vision of a new kind of human species, and it is not a species that will prove responsive to organizational appeals.

Where there is little real human contact, how can we learn to trust each other in the way you have to trust if you are going to take the daring steps organization entails? You can't even get people to go to a meeting. My friends in the AFL-CIO tell me that union meetings were never so badly attended as today.

On the other hand we must not get obsessed with this picture of glossily conforming Americans who have lost the capacity for original response in their raptures over a synthetic material environment. Even among those who have gone farthest toward the silent set responses of the store-window manikin, the more traditional human concern is real enough, though submerged. You can only keep the image of Americans as automatons when you see them at a distance (as most people do, of course). The truer picture is probably of a troubled people, most of them well aware at times of a human potential very different

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from what is being realized in the lives they live.

Before we get too depressed about thinned-out personal relationships in America, too, we should reflect that many people are bound sooner or later to take flight from the impoverished lives they lead and to find their way to organizations in the process. There is no question that thinness in personal relationships is a chief cause of the despair of many of those we rub shoulders with. As people come to feel the anguish of not existing in a human way at all in important areas of their lives, they will be almost forced to experiment in ways to strengthen the bonds between man and man. The confessions and soul-searchings of the "beat" scene are an effort to establish something real in inter-personal relationships. The disheveled, turbulent, slambang careening through life of a character like Saul Bellow's Augie March has its source in an effort by Bellow to project real living, real contact, as opposed to the faint ceremonial signs and gestures to which modern lives have been so largely reduced. The best way to make human relationships more meaningful will be for people to pool knowledge, strength, idealism, devotion (their good solid human capacities, in a word) in a struggle to move directly against the paramount threat of the age. For clearly if relationships are to be meaningful, they must concern the areas of experience where our feelings and convictions are strongest. Organizational activity by definition calls upon people to take a stand on issues in these areas of maximum meaning.

Another obstacle in the way of organizing, less serious but still real, is the advance of research and specialization. Each year it gets more difficult to become an expert, no matter what field you are working in, whether it be medicine, law, engineering, literary scholarship; and at the same time only the expert is really valued. The result: a man works so hard to take command of his profession that he has no time left to perform as a citizen of the world. It is one's responsibilities as a human being that draws people into peace organizations, but this general sense of responsibility tends to become inoperative in a society where merely taking command of one's profession is enough to bring on gastric ulcers.

Conflict between one's professional duties and one's obliga-

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tions as a human being is not new. It was an urgent conflict in the 30's. Thomas Wolfe complained that if he should respond to all the anti-fascist appeals that came his way he would have no time left to write novels. Still, if the problem is not new, it is harder to deal with because, with increasing specialization, mastery of one's field is harder to achieve.

I mentioned that union meetings are badly attended. I might add that in the effort to set up a faculty organization to take a stand on public issues (following the faculty statements on Cuba and on the shelter program), some of us have decided that we should be content to send statements through inter-office mail and should not expect to get professors out to meetings. The pressures of research seem to leave no time for meetings.

Organizing in the 60's will be harder, again, because choices in social action have to such a great extent been narrowed to two: do something innocuous or get branded. This kind of reduction of alternatives (the fatuous, the subversive) is again no new thing. A narrowing of choices of this kind is the answer to the needs of every ruling class. One of the lessons the Joads learned in the truck gardens and orchards of California was that either you make no trouble for the authorities or else you face blacklisting, the red smear, and vigilante violence. All the same, since the 30's we've gone further toward the narrowing of choices. Part of the continuing heritage of McCarthyism is the view that there are two kinds of Americans, those who give all-out support to the existing state of affairs and enemy agents. The Cold War psychology embodies the same dichotomy: approve the Establishment without question or become a candidate for fingerprinting and handcuffs. The mass media, so hopelessly servile to the interests of the ruling class, do their bit to reduce the complexities of experience to black and white.

This narrowing of choices is one of the most dismaying aspects of the task of organizing that lies ahead. For when it comes to a question of doing something innocuous or getting branded, we must remember that people will hesitate to get branded not only because no one wants the mark of Cain upon him but also because we have had some experience with the weapons of force as used against "dangerous" characters—re-

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moval from public and private payrolls, blacklisting, jail, and even the ultimate weapon that was used against Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs. Considering the thinness of personal relationships already mentioned, and the impact of the mass media, how are we going to get people to do the daring thing, if daring can lead to results like these?

The only hope I see is that this lying simplification of experience will come to be regarded in time as so intolerable that people will defy the categorizing. Life does renew itself (this is the true foundation of hope on the part of those who have it); one way the renewal will perhaps be manifested in the years ahead will be in refusal to accept the simplified alternatives the ruling class finds so convenient.

Another change since the 30's that will make it harder to organize is that we have lost the sense that this country may soon take the lead again in social experimentation. In the 30's, while the most significant social experimentation was obviously going on elsewhere, still there was a chance, one felt, that the United States would jump back into first place. If only we as progressives measured up to our responsibilities, it seemed, the United States might once more make a significant contribution to world society by pioneering in new forms of cooperative behavior.

I personally realized once and for all that it wasn't going to be like that when in the issue of *The Nation* of August 25th, 1951, I read an article called "Our 'Racket' Society" by Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia. Professor Lynd began with a consideration of the importance of organized action in a democracy. He pointed out that "democracy has never attended to the problem of how to organize itself," and then spoke of how private enterprise now manipulates public opinion in the United States, diverting us from the important issues with false slogans like, "The free-enterprise system is the basis of all our democratic freedoms." The situation "of ramified disorder and insecurity" in America, he said, is not necessarily hopeless, "but it cannot be changed by superficial measures. And private power does not intend to allow major surgery. Besides, who, what, exists in the United States that sees, let alone is prepared to carry through, the major operation the situation requires?" He

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spoke of how social scientists, intellectuals, teachers have abdicated their function and concluded by saying that those fighting for democracy are fighting a losing battle in America. The great push forward will take place overseas.

Since 1951, some such view as this has become general. Joseph Starobin, writing in MONTHLY REVIEW for September, 1959, put aside the doctrine of working-class impoverishment as the "generator of revolutionary change," and at the same time dismissed the prospect of sudden or decisive institutional innovation in this country. Leadership in social experimentation will be held for the foreseeable future by the socialist countries, he says, and capitalism will lag. Gradually, however, capitalism will perhaps be affected by osmosis; as a result of peaceful competition with the socialist countries, first one feature then another of socialism may be adopted.

Arthur K. Davis (MONTHLY REVIEW, October, 1960) is less sanguine than Starobin, but equally certain that the leadership for this century is to be looked for almost anywhere except in the United States. He expresses doubts as to whether this country can any longer be expected to solve its problems constructively. Progress rises out of opposition, and there *is* no opposition. No effective Left exists in the United States. There is no challenge to the system. The two major parties are both right of center, and no political machinery exists through which opposition can express itself. This is "one of the big reasons for believing that the United States may be headed down a one-way, dead-end street." We are living during one of the great divides in history, Davis says, the transition from capitalism to socialist industrialism, and in this period the United States appears destined to remain isolated from the main drift of world civilization.

The task for progressives in this country, it seems clear, is to support a holding-action operation, to try to keep the decision-makers of the military-industrial complex from responding to the realization that history has passed them by with an epileptic seizure of geno-suicide. This holding-action role is less attractive than the older one of trying to urge upon America some positive contribution to the social-moral experiments for which this century will probably be remembered. It may be childish of us, but we can hardly plunge into the task of putting restraints on the

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drive of reaction with the same kind of cheerful confidence we brought to that of trying to prod the United States into reassuming a progressive role in world affairs.

Here too, however, there may be a less discouraging view. Our task is, with slender organizational resources and in the face of the prime development in the use of electronic and other technical devices for directing and limiting choice, to curb the capacity for destruction of persons who command vast technological and political power. If we could succeed in doing this, we would not only have won a battle for the cause of humanity; we would also have carried through a successful experiment in social engineering.

All things considered, it looks as if the task of organizing in the 60's will be a good deal harder than in the 30's. But there is one way in which we have an advantage. On a world scale, the outlook is brighter than it was in the 30's. People tend to forget this, but during the 30's it looked as if an iron-heeled, goose-stepping, ranting regimen might sweep all before it. The danger of a fascist victory on a global scale was actual, immediate. Since then an anti-fascist war has been fought and won, and what that victory really means is that man can now look forward to experiments in economic and political arrangements designed to create a decent condition of life for the great majority of his fellows. This is what it means to have thrown back the great offensive of fascism. Provided only that we can get past the present threat of radioactive firestorms, it would appear that the outlook for civilization generally is much more promising than it was when the fascist powers were at the peak of their strength. If, then, we can just remind ourselves from time to time that things are looking up in the context of developments on a world scale, this consideration might be enough to outweigh all the rest, and to enable us to take up with confidence the enormously difficult tasks of organization that lie ahead.

Without disarmament there can be no lasting peace. On the contrary, the continuation of military armaments in their present extent will with certainty lead to new catastrophies.

—*Albert Einstein, The Nation,* 1931

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

The Shape of Things to Come

Human beings do not like to be disturbed. From infancy to old age they prefer to continue in the state of rest or motion to which they have become accustomed. The herdsman tends his animals and moves only when grass runs short. The farmer grubs a meager living from his traditional bit of earth. Craftsmen shape materials as their fathers have done before them. Merchants sit and wait patiently or impatiently for customers. Professionals continue practicing their vocations.

Change is welcomed by the occasional footloose, carefree adventurer and by rare enthusiasts eager to try out new ideas. It is accepted reluctantly by those who have suffered physical hardship or social injustice. Hardship has to be severe and long-continued before it overbalances man's desire to follow his accustomed routine.

During recent years a new force has been introduced. To an increasing degree, people change habitats, jobs, professions, and partners because they see a chance to better their living conditions. Modern man lives in a whirl of activity and movement in which change is implicit. Printing presses, cameras, telephones, radio, and television spread ideas over the globe. Steamships, railroads, busses, automobiles, and airplanes make it possible and easy to move about and help to create the surging modern world in which people everywhere are seeking betterment, comfort, happiness.

Present-day social changes are not accidental, random, or capricious. Increasingly they are directed toward goals and carried out according to plans that have won popular approval and frequently the enthusiastic popular support which produces crusades.

Certainly the widespread desire of people and peoples "to live as well as the best" has all the earmarks of a crusade. The object of this crusade is a higher standard of well-being. The

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means to its attainment are industrialization, automation, mass-production, mass marketing, and mass use of the immense variety of appliances, implements, conveniences, gadgets, trinkets, and services included in modern living. More time, energy, and enthusiasm are devoted to this crusade than to any other human endeavor, with the single and temporary exception of a popular war.

This crusade to "modernize" began in Southern and Western Europe and spread to North America and Australia. Today it is sweeping Asia, Latin America, Africa. It is more widespread than any movement recorded in human history. The only comparable purposive social transformations in the past were efforts to spread religious beliefs and to build empires. Religious and empire-building crusades were regional. The crusade to improve living standards is all but universal.

Individuals and communities will continue, during the years that lie immediately ahead, to promote the ideas and follow the practices that result in better living conditions for more people. More and more people in more places will turn their backs on the past, abandon routine, alter habits, and accept new ways that promise stability, security, and wider opportunity to live a good life. The crusade for better living, better organized, more carefully planned, and more efficiently executed, will dominate human life in the immediate future as it has done increasingly during the present generation.

Second among present-day crusades is the drive of colonial and dependent peoples for independence and self-determination. Modern empire-building reached its high point and began its descent with the war of 1914-1918. At that time the majority of human beings lived in the colonies and dependencies of half a dozen great empires. The crusade for independence and national status is today absorbing the attention of more than half the human race. Until the last empire has been dismembered and the last colony has been liberated, the crusade for independence and self-determination will continue to play a central role in the drama of modern history.

Third among the crusades that are sweeping the modern world is the movement in a dozen countries with perhaps a third of the planet's population, to build a social pattern along

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collective rather than individualistic lines. The declared objects of this crusade are socialism in the first period and communism in the second period of its development. The crusade took its political form only after 1917. It is therefore the youngest of the movements which are shaping the course of present-day events.

The crusade for a socialist world enjoys two important advantages. First, it took concrete political form during the break-up of the 19th-century empires when peoples generally were looking for a way out of a desperate situation. Presently it occupies the planetary heartland stretching across Europe and Asia from the Atlantic to the Pacific, containing a generous share of largely undeveloped natural resources, and populated by a billion human beings. Despite its recent origin, its highly experimental role, and its lack of experienced leadership, the socialist crusade is already playing a leading part in the direction of present-day historical trends.

There is a fourth movement that has not and probably cannot reach the dignity of a crusade. We refer to the efforts to regroup the shattered forces of 19th-century imperialism in a 20th century American empire and into a pan-European organization dominated by West Germany. There is a third and a rather remote possibility—a Western Bloc built around the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, using the United Nations as its political instrument.

All three of these endeavors—American empire, Pan-Europa, and NATO—suffer from two grave disadvantages. First, they are attempts to regroup scattered and more or less obsolete social fragments and thus to restore the past. Second, the attempt is being made in the name of freedom and of a competitive struggle for wealth and power. Both freedom and power struggle are incompatible with the coordination which is an essential feature of the power age. Furthermore, the experiences of the past half century, beginning with the all-out war of 1914-1918 and coming down to the present era of total preparedness for total nuclear war, have brought into serious question any attempt to reproduce the causes that resulted in the devastation and destruction of the past half century.

We have been discussing several of the forces that shape

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present-day events as though they could be separated from one another and from the historical setting of which they are an essential part. Actually they are inseparably interdependent. To a considerable extent they are also contradictory. This is notably the case in the opposition between independence and imperial domination on the one hand and on the other hand the revived competition between the business interests of highly industrialized countries which aim to get and keep natural resources, overseas markets, and investment opportunities. It is even more evident in the conflict between individualism and collectivism, capitalism and socialism, which has been the major factor leading to the Cold War that has been waged continuously and officially during the 16 years since 1946.

Like any other battle lines, the fortunes of the Cold War shift back and forth as minor forays and probing operations are conducted by one side or the other. As in all major confrontations of opposing social systems, both sides are husbanding their resources, stock-piling their weapons, and looking forward with a heavy mixture of fear and hope to *The Day* of a decisive showdown which historians may name World War III. Should such a war occur it will have a far more decisive effect on the course of world events than either the struggle of 1914-1918 or its more critical successor in 1939-1945.

Neither side wants war. Major powers, which have so much to lose, almost always prefer to gain their ends by means less expensive and less dangerous than war. Nevertheless, all great powers maintain lavishly financed and equipped military departments, prepared to fight at a moment's notice. In a tight spot, if military operations promise to yield important advantages, big powers use armed force as a means of reaching their economic and political objectives. No rational survey of world forces and world events can overlook the probability of local war and the possibility of general war.

For better or worse, the movements for modernization, nationalism, socialism, and anti-communism are the major forces of the present day. These forces are predominantly competitive and conflicting rather than coordinative and cooperative. It is from these forces, primarily, that the world events of the next twelve months will be generated.

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Who Got The Money?

United States foreign aid is not based entirely on sympathy for the underprivileged in other lands. The strongest force behind the program is not altruism, but self interest. Including appropriations made in 1962, the total aid bill since 1945 has run to around $100 billion. Who got the money?

"Most of the foreign aid dollars are spent right here in the United States," writes *U.S. News & World Report.* (August 6, 1962, p. 55.) In support of this statement the editors cite United States foreign aid for all purposes in the year ending June 30, 1961. Total aid was $6.1 billion. Of this amount, $21 out of every $100 were spent abroad, while $79 were spent in the United States—for farm products, military supplies and weapons, industrial equipment, and services.

Why does Congress appropriate, year after year, more money for foreign aid than the average small government spends for all purposes? *U.S. News* editors answer: "Almost 80 percent of the billions that go for foreign aid actually is spent within the United States. The materials that are bought with foreign-aid dollars go abroad, but those materials are bought and paid for in the United States." The editors add: "It is estimated officially that U.S. aid abroad accounts for more than 12 percent of this country's exports and creates 700,000 jobs."

Foreign aid has become a part of the subsidy which the Washington government pays to bolster a stagnant, bankrupt economy. Take away arms contracts, agricultural price supports, foreign aid purchases, and other government spending, and the United States economy would be in a state of chronic depression.

The Insolvent Dollar

Frequently we have called attention to the weakness of the United States dollar. Only a few years ago paper dollars were preferred in foreign countries because of the immense prestige enjoyed by the United States after war's end in 1945, and because of the immense gold reserves held by the Washington government ($22.7 billion in December 1950). Recently much of this prestige has been transformed into anti-Americanism. Actually, three-quarters of the postwar gold hoard remains in

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the United States, but it is insufficient to cover legal foreign claims on United States-held gold.

Nowhere have we seen the facts more forcefully stated than in a recent issue of *U.S. News & World Report,* (May 7, 1962):

U.S. stockpile of gold is down 395 million in 1962, to 16.5 billions. Gold needed to back U.S. dollars is 11.7 billions. Gold on hand in excess of gold required to back the dollar is down to 4.8 billions.

But: Foreign individuals and governments hold claims of 20.4 billion dollars against that "free" 4.8 billion. Potential deficit: 15.6 billion.

U.S. dollar, in other words, is more vulnerable than in recent history.

It's something that a President cannot overlook.

Music, Sweet Music!

"Late this Spring, a music festival lasting sixteen days took place in Canton, the largest city in South China. Professional and amateur musical groups from all over Kwantung Province, as well as well-known musicians from Peking, Shanghai, and other cities took part. Altogether, 2,700 musicians performed nearly 600 Chinese and foreign compositions, both ancient and modern, offering a wide variety of style and form. Emphasis was placed on the traditional and folk music of Kwantung." (*Chinese Literature,* Foreign Language Press, Peking, July, 1962, p. 111).

The United States has never really come psychologically to acceptance of the Soviet Union as a force with which we must deal on a basis of permanence and equality. Thus, for example, we were unable to accept the real lesson of the *Sputniki,* which was not that America was weak, but that the Soviet Union was strong. This psychology of non-acceptance grew out of fear, ignorance, and emotion. It is fraught with the most deadly danger. (Almost monotonously, we seem to be repeating the same pattern in regard to China. Of course the trouble is not just the U.S.S.R. or just China; it is also communism as such.)

—Fred Warner Neal, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union

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THE PARALYSIS OF AGONY

BY DAVID EVANIER

Re-reading Marek Hlasko's *Eighth Day of the Week** is a disturbing experience. Published in 1958, the book produced by this young Polish writer is a poor one, but an important one. It is characteristic of the writing of a large segment of young people today, and of their attitudes and the way of life they lead. These are the beatniks: those who profess that they do not care any more, that life is not worth living, that people do not and cannot know one another, that society is cruel and worthless, that government corrupts when human beings don't have the opportunity to. It is a way of thinking and feeling that is foreign to no country in the world today—West or East, U.S. or Hungary. In every country, there is a certain segment of young people lurking in corners mocking the words and effort of their elders and governments.

Hlasko's book is representative. It is not only a mockery of pretense and stupidity, but a mockery of all life. There is no attempt to depict live human beings, to understand what they are. It is a long funeral that Hlasko depicts. The dialogue is bitter and mocking, it follows no logical pattern, and the same is true of the behavior of his characters. The hero of the book is instructed by his girl friend to strike another fellow; he does so, although he does not want to, and the girl says: "That's because you don't water the flowers. You don't treat either flora or fauna properly. Good night. No hard feelings." And she bursts out laughing.

One follows through the book as the young boy and his girl friend walk around Poland—there is only the picture of drunkenness everywhere, in the streets at every corner, the juvenile delinquents hovering about leering at the girls. The bars are made to seem the center of life. There is a continuing pattern of violence coming from

David Evanier, a college student, is co-editor of *The Nonconformers*, published by Ballantine Books.

* Dutton, 1958, $2.75; paperback, New American Library, 1959, 35¢.

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the girl Agnieszka. She strikes her boy friend for no reason, and near the end of the book, after looking for her brother in all the bars and having finally found him, she squeezes a glass so that it breaks in his hand and she feels the fragments of glass sink into his flesh. Hlasko comments: "Both watched his blood dripping on the dirty tablecloth." The brother smiles and says: "Man's strength always flows from cruelty. That is the basis. . . ." None of these actions follow from any logical prior steps; they are presented to the reader in a brutal unreal continuity which says: This world is not crazy, this is life; you are crazy for thinking it any other way.

There is not a trace, not a moment of joy, of happiness, of the goodness of a character revealed. The world is a jungle, in which each person is stranded alone, imprisoned by his own bestiality and the bestiality of others. Furthermore, people cannot even communicate their problems to one another, because they cannot understand each other. Agnieszka's father spends his time walking around on his hands because he wants to keep his body trim in order to hold onto his job. Although, for the greater part of the book, he professes some concern for his crippled wife, toward the end even this feeling is extinguished. He had looked forward as he always did to going fishing on Sunday, but it had rained. Finally all the fury in him explodes, and he screams:

> Without that drunk in the kitchen, I could have lived like a human being. Today, Sunday, I could have gone to see a whore, or got drunk. One day of rain, and a man's life is ruined. I must stay home and nurse your mother. I didn't go fishing, and tomorrow I'll have to shove my way into a streetcar. (Suddenly he jumped to the couch on which her mother was lying.) Get out of bed, you bitch. Get up, die, do anything but let it be different, let something change at last, let something change.

It is in these moments of violence that the writer is most clear, and his characters express themselves most completely. There is a fulfillment at these points; the fumbling incoherence of much of the dialogue and the dimness of the author's purpose are put aside; there is a clarity and sharpness that remains for as long as the violence is being described.

For those of us who are fighting for a better world, a book like Hlasko's is like a cruel stab in the back. There are so many valid obstacles that we are reminded of. Stalin lived and murdered; in Poland there were narrow dungeons where prisoners stood for weeks in their own excreta. People's finger nails were torn off by their questioners. Cold water was poured over them as they were made to stand in the bitter frost. All this was true in Hungary, and other socialist states as well. There

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was living horror under the fascists; after the liberation there were new forms of horror. These things we know; we know too that men like Rakosi of Hungary who had spent eight years in concentration camps, came out and virtually built new ones against their own comrades.

These are not easy things to live with. They create new colors in our conception of the world beyond black and white. Our dreams are tarnished, and disturbed.

But there are other facts that we know too. We know that these horrors are not happening now. We know that there are men in high places in socialist countries who, unlike the Nazis, weep nights and are tortured by their own consciences. We know that the torturers have been imprisoned by these societies.

But above all, we know a few things about human beings and human life that seem to escape a man like Hlasko. We have known people whose lives are dedicated to the ennoblement of humanity and who, no matter what, would not be swayed from their course. We have known teachers who have spent long hours trying to help us learn and be more than our parents. We have known friends who do understand us, and with whom we have spent days of comradeship and pleasure, and with whom we do communicate without any problem. Perhaps most of all, we have seen, even in the most offensive and disturbed of persons, times when, if they are treated with a gentleness and understanding they have never known before, they reveal kind and better sides of themselves which they have not been able to show before.

And so it is in 1962, there are still men like Fidel Castro, who risk their own lives to make the world a free and equal and happy place for all their countrymen, and are succeeding in the most satisfying and breathtaking way. And there is in the Soviet Union, a new generation growing up, aware of the wonderful characteristics of socialism, and equally ashamed of the distorting features that maimed many of its most noble minds and hearts. And there are the Asian, African, and Latin American countries which want to avoid both the contradictions of capitalism and the aberrations of Stalinism.

Where Hlasko and his fellows around the world fail, mainly, is not in their knowledge of the terror of human character and life. They have this knowledge, and it constitutes their value to all humanity. For we must know ourselves for what we are before we can change, and we must know life in all its complexity and paradox before we can fully improve it. Where they fail is in their lack of understanding of life in all its characteristics: that there are men of courage and heroism now in the world, as there have always been; that there exists, despite the truth of much that they write, true communication between some people and, yes, true love among

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others; and that the inner beauty of humanity is not a cruel illusion. It is not a hard fact either. It is something that most of us have seen, sometimes fully, sometimes in the most passing fashion. It is something that Hlasko has never seen at all.

Hlasko is now making his home in West Germany, where his view of life as being murderous, treacherous, and bestial will most certainly be confirmed. It is likely that his next home will be a mental sanatorium. From all the wounded and maimed in the world, like Hlasko, from the small groups in every society who gather together at night in tortured, cold, uncommunicative fashion to try to express their torment, we must learn of the ugliness, the unquestionable horror that human life has produced, and of which they are the victims.

And we must try to teach them that while much of their vision is true, much of it is deluded, and the product of prolonged sorrow; that there is kindness, and joy, and love among human beings; and that there are ways of struggling to make sure that these qualities will prevail, so that, as Thomas Mann wrote, it will come to pass that "Love one day shall mount."

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

BY WILSON MACDONALD

An officer of the law,
With the slow understanding of an ox
and the quick temper of a parrot,
a red-faced, dull-witted officer of the law
asked me, in a blustering, blundering way,
if I were a Communist.

And I said, with an answer not for him,
for he was too fat in his brain to understand,
but with a reply for all peoples yet to be:

Wilson MacDonald, a socialist of long standing, is one of Canada's best-known poets.

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"I accept all that is good in communism,
and I reject all that is evil in that faith."
And the red-faced, slow-witted officer of the law
departed with that same look on his face
which the eyes of people had once worn
when a Nazarene wrote upon the sand.

When men question me: "Are you Protestant
or Catholic, or Hebrew, or Mohammedan,
or Atheist, or Buddhist or Sun-Worshipper?"—
my answer will ever and always be the same:
"I accept all that is good in each and all of these,
and I reject everything which they possess of evil."

I reject the discordant note of a prima donna,
(for the best of them sometimes slip into discord)
and I accept the harmonious cry of a savage.
I reject a lie on the lips of a priest,
and I accept a truth from the mouth of a vagabond.

Thus no organization or sect or creed can hold me:
I stand outside them all, yet I plunder them all,
and my storehouse is rich from the infinite thieving.
I have pilfered the tablets of Moses
and I have stolen the bugles of Amos:
I have sipped the rare wines of the wisdom of Shelley
and Shakespeare and Pushkin and Marx.

Therefore, I enter all doors at a whim of my heart.
I take knowledge in and I bring knowledge out.
The pollen of truth I gather and bequeath;
and wherever I go, by noon or by evening,
I rob old gardens of ripe beauty
and sow new gardens with white truth.

So, officer of the law,
with the slow understanding of an ox,
this is my answer, spoken to you,
and yet not spoken to you, but to that deeper understanding
which shall some day come unto the earth.

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MURDER IN LOS ANGELES: A PROTEST

The following letter was sent to the Editor of the *New York Times* on July 6, 1962. The *Times* declined to publish it on grounds of lack of space.—The Editors

On April 27, 1962, Ronald T. X. Stokes, Secretary of the Muslim Mosque in Los Angeles, was killed, and six other Negroes, all unarmed, were shot by the police outside the Muslim Temple in Los Angeles.

The policeman who shot and killed Stokes and testified before a Coroners Jury that he "shot three or four others" has since been cleared by this jury which brought in a verdict of "justifiable homicide in the performance of duty," even though it was clearly established in the hearings that the Negroes were unarmed and not engaged in any unlawful activity but simply assembled outside the temple.

A picture in the *Los Angeles Times* the day after the shootings showed the Negro victims lying on the ground wounded and handcuffed. The accompanying article said the "scene outside the Muslim temple at 5606 S. Broadway resembled a modern-day street scene in Algiers."

An all-white Grand Jury has since indicted nine Muslims for "criminal assault against the police."

The Negro community in Los Angeles and Negro organizations all over the country have rallied in protest against this brutal killing. As Roy Wilkins, National Secretary of the NAACP, said in a press release, "National Office supports fully the protest which the Los Angeles Branch has lodged in the brutal police killing of Ronald Stokes. Police brutality against any segment of the population demands vigorous action."

We who are not Negroes believe that we cannot stand aside and allow the protest against these brutal acts to remain the responsibility of the Negro community alone. We believe that it is particularly important for white Americans to take a stand in this instance precisely because the Black Muslims advocate the separation of the races on the ground that Negro-white relations in this country over the centuries have made their integration impossible.

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We appeal to others to take a similar stand for justice and decency and to preserve the right of minority groups to assemble peaceably and to speak freely, whether or not we happen to agree with their convictions.

SIGNED: Kathleen G. Aberle, anthropologist, Newton Centre, Mass.; Grace C. Lee, editor, Detroit, Mich.; David Aberle, anthropologist, Newton Centre, Mass.; Eunice Burton Armstrong, housewife, Scarborough, N. Y.; Virginia Bate, housewife, Rockport, Mass.; Rutledge Bate, artist, Rockport, Mass.; Edmund C. Berkeley, businessman, Newtonville, Mass.; Sue Berkeley, housewife, Newtonville, Mass.; Ruth Gage-Colby, UN correspondent, New York, N. Y.; Filomena Daddario, office worker, Detroit, Mich.; Gloria Goodman, housewife, Boston, Mass.; Leonard Goodman, technician, Boston, Mass.; Robert Hemstreet, theological student, Medford, Mass.; Leo Huberman, publisher, New York, N. Y.; Charles C. Lockwood, attorney, Detroit, Mich.; Truman Nelson, writer, Salem, Mass.; James R. Oliver, mechanic, Rockport, Mass.; Freddy Paine, office worker, Los Angeles, Calif.; Lyman Paine, architect, Los Angeles, Calif.; Paul M. Sweezy, publisher, New York, N. Y.; Charles Huebner Wellman, private tutor, Rockport, Mass.; Maud Wellman, housewife, Rockport, Mass.

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(*continued from inside back cover*)

signed by 550 prominent Americans seeking a pardon for Scales has been sent to President Kennedy by Norman Thomas. Signees include two Federal judges and five senior members of outstanding North Carolina law firms, as well as nine of the twelve jurors who voted for conviction. Roger Baldwin of the ACLU has declared that the case is "unique in the history of civil liberties," and the *New York Times* in an editorial of June 14 stated "there is something un-American in having even one political prisoner in the United States; and we think the President would serve justice and the interests of this free democracy in commuting the sentence of Junius Scales." Letters urging such action should be sent at once to President Kennedy.

In 1939 Leo Szilard induced Einstein to write the now-famous letter to Roosevelt explaining the military possibilities of uranium fission. Throughout the development of the bomb he stressed the imperative need to consider the political consequences, and in 1945 he was a leader of the group of Chicago scientists who fought against the direct military use of the bomb. Currently Professor Szilard is seeking support for a new approach to the problem of peace and the atom: a Peace Lobby. The objectives of the organization are two-fold:

(1) the formulation of a broadly-acceptable political program dedicated to preserving peace, and its advocacy in Washington;

(2) substantial financial support of political candidates with constructive views on the fundamental issues of war and peace.

People wanting to support the Peace Lobby, or desiring more information, should write Professor Szilard, Dupont Plaza Hotel, Washington 6, D. C.

An international peace/disarmament directory containing the names and addresses of more than 415 groups and 65 periodicals is now available at 20¢ per copy. Send your order to the compiler, Lloyd Wilkie, 327 Dayton Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The "creeping stagnation"—and worse—by which the Review of the Month in this issue characterizes the state of the U.S. economy does not hold for MR and MR Press. Far from it. One year after we moved into our present office at 333 Sixth Avenue, we found it necessary to add another room to our modest office. Next month we are adding still more space, almost doubling our original capacity. All this expansion is due to the tremendous growth in our magazine and book publishing venture. MR circulation has multiplied more than tenfold since the birth of the magazine, and the MR Press list will have grown from its first book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War,* by I. F. Stone, in 1952, to 40 titles by the end of 1962. Much of the capital necessary to pay for the expenses of publication; as well as the increase in staff and office space, was provided by your generous contributions to the Associates. Last year was the best Associates year in our history.

Our heartfelt thanks to those of you who have helped make possible this impressive growth. We will continue to need your cooperation in the coming months when we hope to be able to make MR and MR Press bigger and better than ever.

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

Cockburn books at the special combined price of $4.50 (list price for both books is $7.25).

On November 21, MR Press will publish *Education and the Working Class,* a study of the effect of a grammar school education on 88 working-class children in an English industrial city. This scholarly work, which the *New Statesman* reviewer described as "a profoundly moving as well as a profoundly disturbing book," is of especial interest to sociologists, educators, and any one concerned with the effect of the educational system on working-class attitudes. For details on all three forthcoming books, see the back cover.

On August 6th the Hiroshima Day Observance Committee, led by Norman Thomas and A. J. Muste, gave a Hiroshima Award to Claude Eatherly, co-author with Gunther Anders, of MR Press book *Burning Conscience.* The three others honored with Eatherly for their "outstanding contributions to world peace," were Pablo Casals, James J. Wadsworth, and the late Stanley M. Isaacs.

Monthly Review began as a 32-page magazine, then a few years ago went to 48 pages for most issues, and more recently it has gone to 64 pages so often that this month we decided to drop the "Special 64-page issue" line from the front cover. We still like to think of ourselves as a 48-page magazine (it costs a great deal less to print and mail!) but so much interesting material comes in that the pressure to go to 64 pages becomes irresistible. Right now we have enough material "in the barrel" to fill another 64 pages—and there are still more articles due this month! Only one thing holds us back from announcing that henceforth MR will be 64 pages regularly—lack of money. For that reason we hope you will read carefully, and act on, the letter you will be getting from the Associates in a few weeks. It tells an interesting story about the problems of putting out what the Economics Department of Wellesley College, in the Wellesley Alumnae Magazine of July, 1962, refers to as "the leading Marxist intellectual (not Communist) economic journal published anywhere in the world."

Do you want the library of your alma mater, or your student friend to receive so highly esteemed a magazine? Then you can still take advantage of our *one-year gift sub at the specially reduced rate of only $3 per year,* to begin with the September issue when the school season opens, to (1) your own alma mater—either your high school or college library, or (2) *any* school or college student. This offer ends on September 30.

Editorial compression resulted in omitting an important detail from the article "Idle Machines," by An Economic Observer, which appeared in the June issue of MR. On page 91, a study by Donald Streever is utilized to extend backward from 1943 to 1920 calculated indexes of capacity, output, and utilization. What is omitted is that the author adjusted Mr. Streever's capacity figures for an assumed 1.5 percent annual gain in the productivity of a dollar's worth of capital, just as he adjusted the Joint Economic Committee's figures (p. 90) for the period after 1943.

Junius I. Scales has since last fall been serving a six-year sentence in the Federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. In a 5-4 decision the Supreme Court upheld his 1958 conviction in North Carolina for having violated the clause of the Smith Act that makes it a crime to be a member of a party advocating violent overthrow of the government. Scales, who resigned from the Communist Party in 1957, is the only member or former member of the Communist Party of America in jail on that precise count. A petition

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